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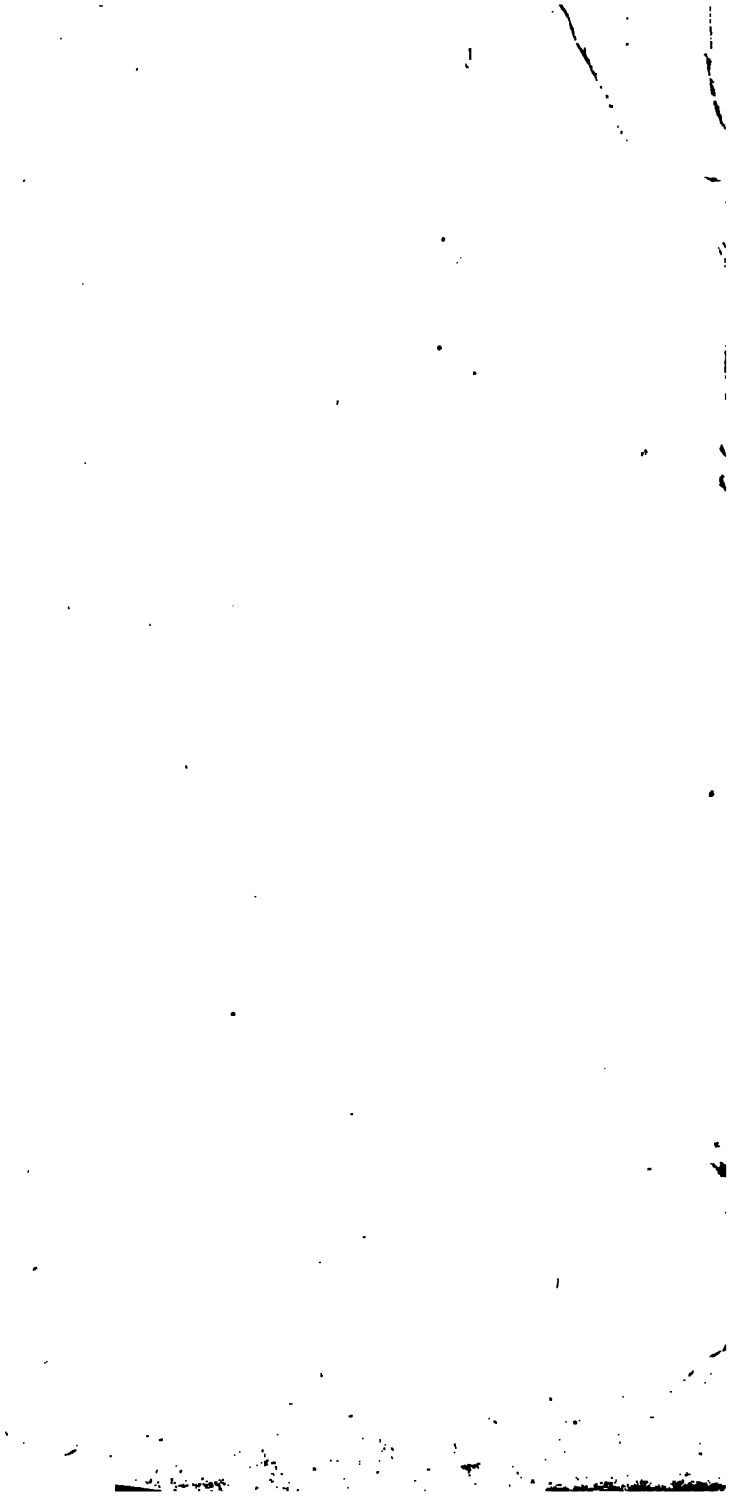

THE

DIVINE LEGATION

OF

MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

VOL. III.

THE
DIVINE LEGATION
OF
MOSES
DEMONSTRATED.
IN NINE BOOKS.

The Fourth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.

BY
WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of GLOUCESTER.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ.
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THE

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Aſylums founded by Superſtition to ſkreen iniquity from civil vengeance, but of the nature of a TEMPLE OF JUSTICE, to vindicate and ſupport the Innocent, You will expect to know the claim I have to it; and how, on being ſeized with that epidemic malady of idle, viſionary men, the *projecting to inſtruct and reform the Public*, I came to ſtand in need of it.

I had lived to ſee --- it is a plain and artleſs tale I have to tell --- I had lived to ſee what Law-givers have always ſeemed to dread, as the certain prognoſtic of public ruin, that fatal Criſis when RELIGION HATH LOST IT'S HOLD ON THE MINDS OF A PEOPLE.

I had obſerved, almoſt the riſe and origin, but ſurely very much of the progreſs of this evil: for it was neither ſo rapid to elude a diſtinct view, nor yet ſo ſlow as to endanger one's forgetting or not obſerving the relation which its ſeveral parts bore to one another:

And

And to trace the ſteps of this evil may not be altogether uſeleſs to thoſe, whoever they may be, who, as the Inſtruments of Providence, are deſtined to counter-work its bad effects.

The moſt painful circumſtance in this relation is, (as your Lordſhip will feel) that the miſchief began amongſt our friends; by men who loved their Country; but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their Object, the ſecurity of its CIVIL LIBERTY.

To trace up this matter to its ſource, we need go no further back than to the happy Acceſſion of that illuſtrious Houſe to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful Monarchs, at the head of a free People, to beſtow; I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of Subjects.

It fortuned that at this time, ſome warm friends of the Acceſſion, newly gotten into power, had too haſtily per-

haps ſuſpected that the CHURCH (or at leaſt that party of CHURCH-MEN which had uſurped the name) was become inauſpicious to the ſacred Æra from whence we were to date the eſtabliſhment of our civil happineſs; and therefore deemed it good policy to leſſen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the People, and who had ſo lately and ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited ſome learned men, who in the preceding reign had ſerved the common cauſe, to take up the pen once more againſt theſe its moſt peſtilent enemies, the JACOBITE CLERGY. They readily aſſumed the taſk, and did it ſo effectually, that under the profeſſed deſign of confuting and decrying the uſurpations of a popiſh Hierarchy, they virtually deprived the CHURCH of every power and privilege, which, as a ſimple Society, ſhe had a claim to; and, on the matter, delivered her up gagged and bound, as the rebel-

rebel-Creature of the State. Their ſucceſs (with the prejudice of Power, and what is ſtill ſtronger, the power of Prejudice, on their ſide) became yet the eaſier, as the Tory Clergy, who oppoſed theſe Eraſtian notions, ſo deſtructive to the very being of a Church, reaſoned and diſputed againſt the Innovators on the principles commonly received, but indeed ſupported on no ſounder a bottom than the authority of Papal or (if they like it better) of Puritanical uſurpations: principles, to ſpeak without reſerve, ill founded in themſelves, and totally inconſiſtent with the free adminiſtration of Civil-government.

In this then, that is, in humbling diſaffected Churchmen, the friends of Liberty and the Acceſſion carried their point. But in conducting a purpoſe ſo laudable at any time, and ſo neceſſary at that time, They had, as we obſerve, gone much too far; for inſtead of reducing the Church within its native bounds, and thereby preſerving

[illegible] And
[illegible], mix-
[illegible] course of
[illegible] were con-
[illegible] rebellious
[illegible], even cried up
[illegible] reasonings against Reli-
gion,

gion, juſt as the Clergy-writers had been, for their exploits againſt Church-government. And one man in particular, the Author of a well-known book called the *Independent Whig*, early a favourite, and to the laſt a Penſioner, carried on, in the moſt audacious and inſulting manner, theſe two ſeveral attacks, together: A meaſure ſupported perhaps in the execution, by its coinciding with ſome Stateſmens *private opinions*; tho' the moſt trite maxims of Government might have taught ſuch to ſeparate their private from their *public* Character. However, certain it is, that the attack never ceaſed operating till all theſe various kinds of Free-writing were gotten into the hands of the PEOPLE.

And now the buſineſs was done: and the ſober Friends of the Government were become, before they were aware, the Dupes of their own policy. In their endeavours to take off the influence

fluence of a Church, or rather of a party of Church-men inauſpicious to a free State, they had occaſioned at leaſt, the looſning all the ties which till then Religion had on the minds of the Populace: and which till then, Stateſmen had ever thought were the beſt ſecurity the Magiſtrate had for their obedience. For tho' a *rule of right* may direct the Philoſopher to a principle of action; and the *point of honour* may keep up the thing called Manners amongſt Gentlemen; yet nothing but *Religion* can ever fix a ſober ſtandard of behaviour amongſt the common People.

But thoſe bad effects not immediately appearing, our Politicians were ſo little apprehenſive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve ſome COLLATERAL advantages they had procured by the bargain; which, amongſt other uſes, they ſaw likewiſe, would

would be ſure to keep things in the condition to which they were reduced. For now Religion having loſt its hold on the People; the Miniſters of Religion were of no further conſequence to the State; nor were Stateſmen any longer under the hard neceſſity of ſeeking out the moſt eminent, for the honours of their Profeſſion: And without neceſſity, how few would ſubmit to ſuch a drudgery! For Stateſmen of a certain pitch are naturally apprehenſive of a little ſenſe, and not eaſily brought, whether from experience or conviction, to form ideas of a great deal of gratitude, in thoſe they have to deal with. All went now according to their wiſhes. They could now employ Church-honours more directly to the uſe of Government, that is, of their own, by conferring them on ſuch ſubjects as moſt gratified their taſte or humour, or ſerved beſt to ſtrengthen their connexions with the Great. This would of courſe give the finiſhing ſtroke to their

their Syſtem. For tho' ſtripping the Church of all power and authority, and expoſing it naked and defenceleſs to its enemies, had abated men's reverence for it; and the detecting Revelation of impoſture, ſerving only for a State-engine, had deſtroyed all love for Religion; yet they were the INTRIGUES OF CHURCH-PROMOTION which would make the People deſpiſe the whole Ordinance.

Nor did the hopes of a better generation give much relief to good men's preſent fears or feelings. The People had been reaſoned out of their Religion, by ſuch Logic as it was: and if ever they were to be brought back to a ſober ſenſe of their condition, it was evident they muſt be reaſoned into it again. Little thought and leſs learning were ſufficient to perſuade men of what their vices inclined them to believe; but it muſt be no common ſhare of both, which, in oppoſition to thoſe vices,

vices, ſhall be able to bring them to themſelves. And where is that to be expected, or likely to be found? In the courſe of forty or fifty years (for I am not ſpeaking of preſent tranſactions) a new Generation or two are ſprung up: And thoſe, whom their Profeſſion has dedicated to this ſervice, Experience has taught, that the talents requiſite for puſhing their fortune, lie very remote from ſuch as enable men to figure in a rational defence of Religion. And it is very natural to think that, in general, they will be chiefly diſpoſed to cultivate thoſe qualities on which they ſee their Patrons lay the greateſt weight.

I have, my Lord, been the longer and the plainer in deducing the cauſes of a recent evil, for the ſake of doing juſtice to the ENGLISH CLERGY; who in this inſtance, as in many others, have been forced to bear the blame of their Betters. How common is it to hear

hear the irreligion of the times aſcribed to the vices, or the indiſcretions of Church-men! Yet how provoking is ſuch an inſult! when every child knows that this accuſation is only an Echo from the lewd clamours of thoſe very Scribblers whoſe flagicious writings have been the principal cauſe of theſe diſorders.

In this diſaſtrous ſtate of things, it was my evil ſtars inclined me to write. I began, as theſe Politicians had done, with the CHURCH. My purpoſe, I am not aſhamed to own, was to repel the cruel inroads made upon its Rights and Privileges; but, I thank God, on honeſter principles than thoſe which have been employed to prop up, with Gothic buttreſſes, a Jacobite or High-Church Hierarchy. The ſucceſs was what I might expect. I was read; and by a few indifferent and intelligent Judges, perhaps, approved. But as I made the CHURCH neither a Slave nor

a Tyrant (and under one or other of theſe ideas of it, almoſt all men had now taken party) *The Alliance between Church and State*, tho' formed upon a Model actually exiſting before our eyes, was conſidered as an Utopian refinement. It is true, that ſo far as my own private ſatisfaction went, I had no great reaſon to complain. I had the honour to be told by the heads of one Party, that they allowed my *principles** ; and by the heads of the other, that they eſpouſed my *concluſion*†; which however amounted only to this, that the One was for LIBERTY however they would chuſe to employ it; and the Other for POWER, however they could come at it.

I had another important view in writing this book. ---- Tho' nobody had been ſo ſhameleſs to deny *the uſe of Religion to civil Government*, yet

* Biſhop Ho. † Biſhop Sh.

certain

certain friends of Liberty, under the terror of the miſchiefs done to Society by Fanaticiſm, or Religion run mad, had, by a ſtrange prepoſterous policy, encouraged a clamour againſt ESTABLISHMENTS: the only *mode* of Religion which can prevent what they pretended to fear; that is, its degenerating into Fanaticiſm. It is true, had theſe Clamourers not found more enemies to the *Eſtabliſhment* than they had made, (enemies on ſolider grounds, to wit, the ſenſe of their excluſion from the emoluments of a national Church) an *Eſtabliſhment* had hardly given umbrage to the appointed Protectors of it. But theſe had the Sectaries to careſs: and a private and preſſing intereſt will often get the better of the moſt indiſpenſible maxims of good policy.

It was for this reaſon, my Lord, that ſo much of the book is employed in the defence of a *national* or an *eſtabliſhed* Religion; ſince, under ſuch a Form,

Form, FANATICISM can never greatly ſpread: and that little there will always be of this critical eruption of our diſeaſed Nature, may have the ſame good effect on the *Eſtabliſhed Religion* which weak Factions are obſerved to have on the adminiſtration of Government; it may keep men more decent, alert, and attentive to the duties of their Charge.

Where then was the wonder, that a ſubject ſo managed, and at ſuch a juncture, ſhould be violently oppoſed, or to ſpeak more truely, be groſsly miſrepreſented. Thoſe in the new ſyſtem accuſed me of making the State a ſlave to the Church; thoſe in the old, of making the Church a ſlave to the State: and one paſſionate Declaimer, as I remember, who cared equally for Church and State, was pleaſed to ſay, that, the better to *banter* mankind, I had done both*.

* Lord B.

Having thus, in the fooliſh confidence of Youth, caſt in my Gooſequill, to ſtem a torrent that in a little time was to bear down all before it; I proceeded, with the ſame good faith, in another romantic effort, The ſupport of RELIGION itſelf.

You, my Lord, who feel ſo humanely for the Injured, on whomſoever POPULAR INJUSTICE may chance to fall, have hardly forgotten the ſtrange reception with which this my fair endeavour was entertained; and principally by Thoſe whoſe intereſts I was defending. It awaked a thouſand black paſſions and idiot prejudices. The Zealots inflamed the Bigots.

—'Twas the Time's plague,
When madmen led the blind.

For, the noble proſecution of real Impiety was now over; or, at leaſt, no longer ſerious. What remained, to belye a zeal for Religion, was a ridiculous

lous Tartuffiſm; ridiculous becauſe without the power to perſecute: otherwiſe, ſufficiently ſerious, as it was encouraged by men, at that time, in eminence of place*. For falſe Zeal and unbelieving Politics always concur, and often find their account in ſuppreſſing NOVELTIES.

But things, unnaturally kept up in a ſtate of violence, in a little time ſubſide: And tho' the firſt Writers, let looſe againſt me, came on as if they would devour; yet the deſign of thoſe who, at ſpring and fall, have ever ſince annually ſucceeded them, has been, I think, only to eat. The imputation that yet ſticks to my notions, amongſt many well-meaning men, is, that they are PARADOXICAL. And tho' this be now made the characteriſtic of my Writings, yet, whether from the amuſement which *Paradoxes* afford, or from

* Archbiſhop P.

whatever other cauſe of malice or curioſity, the Public ſeem ſtill ſufficiently eager to ſee what, in ſpite of the Argument, and perhaps in ſpite to it, they are pleaſed to call my CONCLUSION. And as in your Lordſhip's progreſs thro' your high Stations (for I will not take my compariſon lower while my ſubject is public favour) men no ſooner found you in one than they ſaw you neceſſary for a higher; ſo every preceeding Volume ſeemed to excite a ſtronger appetite for the following; till, as I am told, it came to a kind of impatience for the *laſt*: which muſt have been ſtrangely obſtinate if in all this time it has not ſubſided. And yet it is very poſſible it may not: For the good natured pleaſure of ſeeing an Author fill up the meaſure of his Paradoxes is worth waiting for. Of all men, I would not appear *vain* before your Lordſhip; ſince, of all men, You beſt know how ill it would become my *pride*. Nor am I indeed in much danger

ger to have my head turned by this flattering circumſtance, while I remember that RABELAIS tells us, and I dare ſay he tells us truth, that the Public of his times were full as impatient for the *concluſion* of the unfiniſhed ſtory of the giant Gargantua and his ſon Pantagruel.

I have now, both leiſure and inclination to gratify this Public fancy, after having put my laſt hand to theſe two Volumes: A work of reaſoning; and tho' fairly purſued, and, as I thought, brought home to its CONCLUSION, yet interſperſed with variety of Philologic diſſertations: For I had to do with a ſort of Readers not leſs delicate than that faſtidious Frenchman, who tells us in ſo many words, that--- *La* REASON *a tort des qu' elle* ENNUYE. As my purpoſe therefore was to bring *Reaſon* into good Company, I ſaw it proper now and then, to make her

wait without, leſt by her conſtant preſence ſhe ſhould happen to be thought tireſome. Yet ſtill I was careful not to betray her rights: and the Diſſertations brought in to relieve the oppreſſed attention of the Reader, was not more for his ſake than for hers. If I was large in my diſcourſe concerning the nature and end of the Grecian MYSTERIES, it was to ſhew the ſenſe the ancient Lawgivers had of the *uſe of Religion to Society*: and if I expatiated on the origine and uſe of the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS, it was to vindicate *the logical propriety of the Prophetic language and ſentiment*. For I ſhould have been aſhamed to waſte ſo much time in claſſical amuſements, and at laſt to join them to your Lordſhip's Name, had they not had an intimate relation to the things moſt connected with Man and his intereſts.

I have detained your Lordſhip with a tedious Story; and ſtill I muſt beg your patience

patience a little longer. We are not yet got to the end of a bad proſpect —— While I, and others of my Order, have been thus vainly contending *pro Aris* with the unequal arms of Reaſon, we had the further diſpleaſure to find, that our Rulers (who, as I obſerved above, had needleſsly ſuffered thoſe ties of Religion to be unlooſed, by which, till of late, the paſſions of the People had been reſtrained) were ſtruggling, almoſt as unſucceſsfully, *pro Focis* with a corrupt and debauched Community.

General Hiſtory, in its Records of the riſe and decay of States, hath delivered down to us, amongſt the more important of its leſſons, a faithful detail of every ſymptom, which is wont to forerun and to prognoſticate their approaching ruin. It might be juſtly deemed the extravagance of folly to believe, that thoſe very *Signs*, which have

conſtantly preceeded the fall of other States, ſhould *ſignify* nothing fatal or alarming to our own. On the other hand, I would not totally condemn, in ſuch a dearth of Religious proviſion, even that ſpecies of piety, which ariſes from a national pride, and flatters us with being the peculiar attention of Heaven; who will avert thoſe evils from his favoured People, which the natural courſe of things would otherwiſe make inevitable: For, indeed, we have ſeen (and, what is as ſtrange as the bleſſing itſelf, the little attention which is paid to it) ſomething very like ſuch an extraordinary protection already exerted; which reſiſts, and, till now, hath arreſted, the torrent juſt ready to overwhelm us. The circumſtance, I mean, is this:---That while every other part of the Community ſeems to lie *in fœce Romuli*, the adminiſtration of Public Juſtice in England, runs as pure as where neareſt to its cœleſtial Source;

purer

purer than Plato dared venture to conceive it, even in his feigned Republic.

Now, whether we are not to call this, the interpoſing hand of Providence; for ſure I am, all Hiſtory doth not afford another inſtance of ſo much purity and integrity in one part, coexiſting with ſo much decay and ſo many infirmities in the reſt: Or whether, profounder Politicians may not be able to diſcover ſome hidden force, ſome peculiar virtue in the eſſential parts, or in the well-adapted frame, of our excellent Conſtitution:---In either caſe, this ſingular and ſhining Phænomenon, hath afforded a chearful conſolation to thinking men, amidſt all this dark aſpect from our diſorders and diſtreſſes.

But the evil Genius of England would not ſuffer us to enjoy it long; for as if envious of this laſt ſupport of

Government, he hath now inſtigated his blackeſt Agents to the very extent of their malignity; who, after the moſt villainous inſults on all other Orders and Ranks in Society, have at length proceeded to calumniate even the King's Supreme Court of Juſtice, under its ableſt and moſt unblemiſhed Adminiſtration.

After this, who will not be tempted to deſpair of his Country, and ſay, with the good old man in the Scene,

——" Ipſa ſi cupiat SALUS
" Servare, prorſus non poteſt, hanc
" FAMILIAM."

ATHENS, indeed, fell by degenerate manners like our own: but ſhe fell the later, and with the leſs diſhonour, for having always kept inviolable that reverence which ſhe, and indeed all Greece, had been long accuſtomed to pay to her

her Auguſt Court of AREOPAGUS. Of this modeſt reſerve, amidſt a general diſorder, we have a ſtriking inſtance in the conduct of one of the principal Inſtruments of her ruin. The witty ARISTOPHANES began, as all ſuch Inſtruments do (whether with wit or without) by deriding *Virtue* and *Religion*; and this, in the brighteſt examplar of both, the godlike SOCRATES. The Libeller went on to attack all conditions of Men. He calumniated the Magiſtrates; he turned the Public Aſſemblies into ridicule; and, with the moſt *beaſtly* and *blaſphemous* abuſe, outraged their Prieſts, their Altars, nay, the very eſtabliſhed Gods themſelves.--- But here he ſtopped; and, unawed by all beſides, whether of divine or human, he did not dare to caſt ſo much as one licentious trait againſt that venerable Judicature. A circumſtance, which the Readers of his witty ribauldry, cannot but obſerve with ſurprize

and

and admiration;--not at the Poet's modeſty, for he had none, but at the remaining virtue of a debauched and ruined People; who yet would not bear to ſee that clear Fountain of Juſtice defiled by the odious Spawn of Buffoons and Libelers.

Nor was this the only conſolation which ATHENS had in its calamities. Its pride was flattered in falling by apoſtate Wits of the firſt Order: while the Agents of public miſchief amongſt us, with the hoarſe notes and blunt pens of Ballad-makers, not only accelerate our ruin, but accumulate our diſgraces: Wretches the moſt contemptible for their parts, the moſt infernal for their manners.

To conclude. Great Men, my Lord, are ſent for the Times; the Times are fitted for the reſt, of common make. ERASMUS and the preſent CHIEF JUS-

TICE

TICE OF ENGLAND (whatever he may think) were ſent by Providence, for the ſake of humanity, to adorn two periods, when RELIGION at one time, and SOCIETY at another, moſt needed their ſupport; I do not ſay, of their great talents, but of that HEROIC MODERATION ſo neceſſary to allay the violence of public diſorders: for to be MODERATE amidſt party-extremes, requires no common degree of patriotic courage.

Such characters rarely fail to perform much of the taſk for which they were ſent; but never without finding their labour ill repaid, even by thoſe in whoſe ſervice it was employed. That *glory of the Prieſthood* left the World, he had ſo nobly benefited, with this tender complaint, --- "Hoc tempore ni-
"hil ſcribi aut AGI poteſt quod non
"pateat CALUMNIÆ; nec raro fit, ut
"dum agis CIRCUMSPECTISSIME utram-
"que

" que Partem offendas, quum in u-
" traque ſint qui PARITER INSANIANT."
A complaint, fated, alas! to be the motto of every Man who greatly ſerves his Country.

I have the honour to be,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged,

moſt obedient and

faithful Servant,

February 2, 1765.

W. GLOUCESTER.

TO THE

JEWS.

SIRS,

THE purpoſe of this work being to prove the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES, it will, I hope, have ſo much merit with you, as to engage your ſerious attention to the following addreſs; which, from the divinity of Moſes's Law, as in this work demonſtrated, attempts to ſhew you, how, by neceſſary conſequence, it follows, that the religion of JESUS is alſo divine.

But, while I am laying my concluſions before you, let me beſeech you not to ſuffer yourſelves to be prejudiced againſt the evidence, by ſuch kind of fallacies as theſe; *Both Jews and Chriſtians confeſs that the religion of Moſes came from* GOD: *but one only, of theſe two Sects, believe the divinity of that of* JESUS: *the ſafeſt way, therefore, is to adhere to what both ſides own to be true.* An argument, which however like, hath not, in all its parts, even ſo much force as what the idolatrous Romaniſts are wont to urge againſt the Reformed—*That as both parties hold ſalvation may be had*

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in the church of Rome, and only one party holds it, may be had in the churches of the Reformed, it is ſafeſt to adhere to popery: which I dare ſay you laugh at for its impertinence, how much ſoever you may have deluded others by the ſame kind of ſophiſtry [a]. For if the Roman catholics, or you, will not take our word for Chriſtianity or Reformation, why do you build any thing upon it, in favour of Popery or Judaiſm? Both of you will ſay, perhaps, "becauſe we are prejudiced in the former concluſion; but that the mere force of evidence extorts the latter from us even againſt ourſelves." This is eaſily ſaid; and may, perhaps, be eaſily believed, by thoſe who taking their Religion from their anceſtors, are apt to meaſure Truth only by its antiquity. But genuine Chriſtianity offering itſelf only to the private judgments of men, every ſincere enquirer believes as he finds cauſe. So that if either you or they would give yourſelves the trouble to examine our motives, it would appear, that the very ſame reaſons which force us to conclude that Chriſtianity in general, and the Reformed religion in particular, are true, force us at the ſame time to conclude that the Jewiſh was from God; and that ſalvation may be obtained, though with much

[a] This, the miſerable *Uriel Acoſta* tells us was one of the principal arguments that induced him to embrace *Judaiſm*.—Præterea veteri fœderi fidem dabant tam judæi quam chriſtiani; novo autem fœderi ſoli chriſtiani. *Exemplar humanæ vitæ*, p. 346. in fin. *Amica Collat. Phil. a Limborch.*

difficulty,

difficulty, in the church of Rome. Either, therefore, the whole of our concluſion is prejudice, or no part of it is ſo.

As I would not have you harden your habitual obſtinacy in favour of your own Religion, by bad arguments; ſo neither will I uſe any ſuch to draw you over to ours.

I ſhall not therefore attempt that way to bring you to the truth, which ſome amongſt us, little acquainted, as ſhould ſeem, either with your Diſpenſation, or the Chriſtian, imagine they have diſcovered: Who, taking it for granted that the Moſaic Law can be defended only by the Goſpel of Jeſus, pretend you muſt firſt acknowledge our Religion, before you can ſupport your own: and ſo, which is very hard, will not allow you to have any reaſonable aſſurance of the truth of your Religion till you have forſaken it [b]. But I would not urge you with ſuch kind of reaſoning, if it were only for this, that I ſuſpect you may not be ſuch utter ſtrangers to the New Teſtament as not to know, that it

[b] "Dr. *Rogers* has declared as I remember in one of his ſermons, that he could not believe the truth of MOSES's pretentions were it not for the confirmation given to them by the Goſpel. This I take to be a dangerous aſſertion, that ſaps the very foundation of Chriſtianity; and ſupercedes at once the whole purpoſe of your intended work, by denying any original intrinſic character of divinity to the inſtitution of MOSES." *Dr. Middleton's letter to Mr. W. Nov.* 30. 1736. *Vol.* v. *of his works.*

lays

lays the foundation of Chriſtianity in Judaiſm. Beſides, right reaſon, as well as St. Paul (which with us, at preſent, are ſtill the ſame thing) would teach you to reply to ſuch Converſts: *Boaſt not againſt the branches of the native olive-tree: but if thou boaſt, thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee* [c].

Much leſs would I employ, in this addreſs, the quainter project of our common Adverſary, the FREE-THINKER. For you are to know, that as thoſe I ſpoke of before, make Chriſtianity too recent, ſo theſe make it as much too old; *even as old as the Creation.* Thoſe fall ſhort of the ſupport of Judaiſm; Theſe overleap it; and aſſure us, that the only way to bring you to believe in JESUS is to prove Moſes an impoſtor. So, ſays a late writer: who, by the ſingular happineſs of a good choice, having learnt his *morality* of our Tyndal, and his *philoſophy* of your Spinoza, calls himſelf, by the courteſy of England, a MORAL PHILOSOPHER [d].

The road I have taken is indeed very different: and the principles I go upon for *your* converſion, will equally ſerve, to *their* confutation. For I have ſhewn that the Law of Moſes was from GOD; and, at the ſame time, that it is only PREPARATORY to the more perfect Religion of JESUS.

[c] ROM. xi. 18. [d] MORGAN.

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The limits of this addreſs will not allow me to point out to you any other arguments than what ariſe immediately from thoſe important circumſtances of the Law, diſcourſed of in this Work. Much leſs ſhall I have room to urge you with a repetition of thoſe reaſonings, which chriſtian writers have already uſed with ſo ſuperior a force againſt you.

Let us ſee then what it is that keeps you ſtill enſlaved to a galling Diſcipline, ſo long after the free offers of Redemption. The two principal reaſons, I ſuppoſe, are theſe:

I. Firſt, a preſumption that the Religion of Moſes is perfect; ſo full and complete in all its members as to be abundantly capable of ſupplying the ſpiritual wants of men by preparing and fitting human nature for the enjoyment of the ſupreme Good, and by propoſing and procuring the poſſeſſion of that Good. Hence you conclude, and were your preſumption well grounded, not unreaſonably, that the Law was given as a perpetual ordinance, to be obſerved throughout all your generations for ever.

II. The ſecond is a perſuaſion that the Prophecies (a neceſſary credential of the Meſſiah) which, we ſay, relate to JESUS, relate not to him in a *primary* ſenſe; and that a *ſecondary* ſenſe is a fanatic viſion raiſed by deluded Chriſtians to uphold a groundleſs claim.

For

For thus one of our common enemies, who hath inforced your arguments againſt us, tells the world, you are accuſtomed to ſpeak. *All the books written by Jews againſt the chriſtian Religion* (ſays he) *ſome of which are printed, and others go about Europe in manuſcript, chiefly attack the New Teſtament for the allegorical interpretations of the Old Teſtament therein, and with the greateſt inſolence and contempt imaginable on that account; and oppoſe to them a ſingle and literal interpretation as the true ſenſe of the Old Teſtament. And accordingly the allegorical interpretations given by chriſtian expoſitors of the Prophecies are now the grand obſtacle and ſtumbling-block in the way of the converſion of the Jews to Chriſtianity* [e].

Theſe, it ſeems, are the two great impediments to your converſion. Give me leave then to ſhew you how the reaſoning of this book removes them.

I. As to the *perfection* of your Religion, it is here proved, that, though it indeed had that ſpecific perfection, which no Religion coming from God can want [f], that is, a full capacity of attaining its end, which was the ſeparation of the race of Abraham from an idolatrous world; yet that it was *perfect* only

[e] *Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion*, p. 82, 83.

[f] See this proved againſt Lord Bolingbroke, vol. iv. p. 207, *& ſeq.*

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in this reſtrained, and relative ſenſe. As to abſolute independent perfection, the Law had it not.

1. That it had no *perfection* with regard to the *improvement of human nature* for the enjoyment of the ſupreme good, I have ſhewn from the genius of your whole religious Worſhip; and its general direction againſt the various idolatries of thoſe early ages. And in this I have a Doctor of your own, the famous MAIMONIDES, for my warrant: who indeed little thought, while he was proving this truth in ſo invincible a manner, that he was preparing the more reaſonable part of his Brethren for the reception of the Goſpel. It is true, ſome of your later writers have ſeen better into this conſequence: and *Orobio*, in his diſpute with Limborch, hath part of a chapter [s] to diſprove, or, rather, to deny the fact. But if your religious Worſhip conſiſt only of a multifarious burdenſome Ritual, relative to the Superſtitions of thoſe early times, it muſt needs be altogether unable to perfect human nature in ſuch a manner, as you do and muſt allow to be God's deſign, in a revealed Religion, univerſal and perpetual.

2. Again, as to the ſecond branch of this perfection, the *propoſing and procuring the poſ-*

[s] The title of the chapter is: Quod ritualia non erant præciſè ut Iſrael ab aliis populis ſepararetur; neque lex neque populus propter Meſſiam, ſed hic propter populum, ut ei inſerviret, p. 86. *Ed. Goud.*

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of the ſupreme Good: I have ſhewn that the Law of Moſes revealed NO FUTURE STATE of rewards and puniſhments, but ſtudiouſly declined the mention of any doctrine preparatory to it: that no Moſaical Tradition ſupplied this omiſſion: and that it did not become a national doctrine amongſt you till the later times of your republic; when it aroſe from various and diſcordant ſources; and was brought in on foreign occaſions. But it is certain, that That Religion muſt fall very ſhort of abſolute perfection, which wants a doctrine ſo eſſential to Religion in general [b]. And

[b] Here Dr. Stebbing charges me with *contradiction*; [Exam. p. 9.] firſt in aſſerting, that *a future ſtate made no part of the Religion of Moſes*; and then that a *future ſtate was eſſential to Religion in general*. Now this which he is pleaſed to call a *contradiction*, I brought as an argument for the divinity of the Law; and ſuppoſed it to be concluſive by its conſiſtency. — Where I ſpeak of *Religion in general*, I explain my meaning to be, a *Religion univerſal and perpetual*, ſuch as Natural Religion and the Chriſtian; and from thence I argue, that if a future ſtate be eſſential to a *Religion univerſal and perpetual*; and a future ſtate be not found in the Religion of Moſes, that then the Religion of Moſes was not *univerſal and perpetual*, but local and temporary; the point I was inforcing, in order to bring over the Jews to the Goſpel of Jeſus. If the Doctor ſuppoſes, that what is eſſential in one ſpecies of Religion muſt be eſſential in the other, this is ſuppoſing them not to be of different ſpecies, but one and the ſame; that is, it ſuppoſes, that they are and that they are not of the ſame ſpecies. — But, continues our Doctor, "If you ſhould ſay, that your argument is levelled againſt the "Jews, conſidered only in their preſent ſtate, in which they are "not under an equal Providence, *this anſwer will not ſerve you.* "For as in their preſent ſtate they are not under any extraordi- "nary Providence, ſo neither do they want the doctrine of a "future ſtate, of which you tell us they have been in poſſeſſion "long ago." p. 11. What pains does this learned Doctor take to make my application to the Jews, in favour of Chriſtianity, ineffectual!

And this, you yourſelves at length ſeem to have been aware of: for though, during the exiſtence of your Republic, the deniers of a future ſtate, ſuch as the Sadducees, were not cut off from the rights of the Synagogue; yet ſince that time, it hath been generally held by your Doctors for a *prime* cauſe of excommunication: — One of them ſays, that it is *the very fundamental of fundamentals*[1]; ——

ineffectual! Your Religion (ſay I to them) teaches no future ſtate. You are at preſent under the common unequal Providence of Heaven. How diſconſolate is your condition! Not ſo bad neither, replies their Advocate, Doctor Stebbing. They now have a *future ſtate*. How came they by it? By the *Law*? No matter, ſays he, they have it, and that is enough to deſtroy all the force of your perſuaſion to embrace the Goſpel. Not altogether enough, good Doctor: for if they have not the future ſtate by the *Law*, (and that truth I take for granted in this addreſs to them, as I think I reaſonably might, after I had proved it at large) their future ſtate, even by their own confeſſion, is a Phantom; and to gain the Subſtance there is no way left but to embrace the Goſpel. They themſelves own this truth: for in the words quoted below, they confeſs that *to believe a future ſtate, and yet that it was not revealed by the Law, is the ſame thing as not to believe it at all.*——It is a ſad thing when Polemics or blacker paſſions have gotten ſo entire poſſeſſion of a man's heart that he cares not what harm he does to a common cauſe, or even to common ſenſe, ſo he can but ANSWER the man or the opinion he happens to diſlike.

[1] Scripſit Rab. (Maimon.) p. m. Articulus fundamentalis decimus tertius agit de reſurrectione, cujus rationem (quomodo ſe habeat) & fundamenta jam expoſuimus. Quod ſi homo crediderit fundamenta illa omnia, ſeque illa credere declaraverit, ingreditur Eccleſiam Iſraelis, & jubemur diligere illum, & miſericordiam illi exhibere, & converſari cum illo juxta omnia, quæ præcepit Deus benedictus cuilibet erga proximum faciendo. — Si quis autem vilipenderit hoc fundamentum excellentium fundamentorum, ecce exit ille ex Eccleſia, quippe qui abnegat articulum fidei, & vocatur impius ac Epicureus, amputatque plantas, quem odio habere & perdere jubemur. *Ex libb Elohim.* Vid. *Daſſovium de Reſurrectione.* Ed. 1693.

Another, that *to deny this is the ſame thing as to deny* GOD *himſelf, and the Divinity of his Law*[k]; and a third, that *even to believe it, and yet not believe that it was revealed by the Law, is the ſame thing as not to believe it at all*[l].

But you will do well, when you have conſidered the force of thoſe reaſonings by which I prove a future ſtate not to be revealed by the LAW of Moſes, to go on with me, (for the free thoughts of many amongſt you, concerning Revelation in general, give ſcandal to the profeſſors of more than one Religion) while I prove, from thence, by neceſſary conſequence, that this LAW came from GOD: And, in concluſion, join with me in adoring the infinite Wiſdom of the GOD of your Fathers, here ſo wonderfully diſplayed, in making one and the ſame circumſtance a ſtanding evidence of the divinity of the Moſaic Religion, and, at the ſame time, an irrefragable proof that it was preparatory only to the Chriſtian; The logical reſult of all our reaſoning being the confirmation of this ſacred truth, long ſince

[k] Hæc fides [de Reſurrectione mortuorum] —— numeretur inter articulos Legis & fundamenta ejus, quam qui negat, perinde facit acſi negaret eſſe Deum, legem eſſe a cœlo, & quod in aliis iſtis articulis tractatur. *R. Salomo ap. Daſſovium de Reſurrect.*

[l] Oportet te ſcire articulum fidei de reſurrectione mortuorum ex lege eſſe. Quod ſi quis fide firma crediderit reſurrectionem mortuorum, non autem crediderit eſſe illam ex lege, ecce ille reputatur acſi hæc omnia negaret. *R. Jehud. Zabara apud Daſſov.*

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enounced by a great Adept in your Law, That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID [m].

Permit me to obſerve farther, that this rabbinical notion of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in the Moſaic Diſpenſation, which ſtill encourages the remnant of your Nation to perſiſt in rejecting the Goſpel of Jeſus, was the very prejudice which, in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, ſo ſuperſtitiouſly attached the Converts from Judaiſm, to the whole obſervance of the Law.

As a Corollary to all this, I have ſhewn, that the *puniſhment of Children for the crimes of their Parents*, which hath given a handle to the enemies of your Law to blaſpheme, can be only well explained and vindicated on the Principle of *no future ſtate* in the *Religion of Moſes*: And farther, that, on this Principle, all the inextricable embarraſs of your Rabbins, in their endeavours to reconcile the different accounts of Moſes and the Prophets concerning that method of puniſhment, is intirely removed, and a perfect harmony and concord is ſeen to reign amongſt them. But at the ſame time that the Principle does this, take notice, it diſables you from accounting for the length of your preſent diſperſion. For the only reaſon your beſt defender, Orobio, had to aſſign

[m] HEB. vii. 19.

for it was, that *you now ſuffer not for your own ſins but for the ſins of your Forefathers.* But the Principle which reconciles Moſes and the Prophets, ſhews that this mode of puniſhment hath long ſince ceaſed.

II. In anſwer to the *ſecond* part, your prejudices againſt the credentials of JESUS's Meſſiahſhip, for the want of rational evidence in a *ſecondary ſenſe* of Prophecy; I have proved thoſe prejudices to be altogether vain and groundleſs, 1. By tracing up the nature of human converſe in ſpeech and writing, from its early original; and from thence evincing, that a *ſecondary ſenſe of Prophecies* is proper, rational, and conformable to the juſteſt rules of grammar and logic. 2. By ſhewing that this method of information was ſo exactly ſuited to the occaſion, that if ever you were to have a *Meſſiah* to compleat your Law, the body of the Prophecies, relating to him, muſt needs be given in the very manner which thoſe in diſpute are actually given: For that, had theſe Prophecies recorded the nature of the Meſſiah's Kingdom in plain and direct terms, it would have defeated the very end and purpoſe of the Law. And this, on reflexion, you will find a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe FOUR QUERIES into which your ableſt Defender[n] has collected the whole ſtrength of your cauſe.

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[n] OROBIO. 1. Ut aſſignetur locus aliquis in quo Deus mandaverit, aut dixerit expreſſè, quod fides in Meſſiam eſt abſolutè neceſſaria

As a Corollary, likewiſe, to this part, I ſhew, in order to reconcile you ſtill farther to the Meſſiahſhip of JESUS, that the hiſtory of GOD's Diſpenſations to your Fathers, even before his giving the Law, can never be rightly underſtood, or fully cleared from the objections of Unbelievers, but on the ſuppoſition of the redemption of mankind by the death and ſufferings of JESUS. And of this I have given a convincing proof in the famous hiſtory of the *Command to Abraham* to offer up his Son. Which I prove to be no other than a REVELATION of that Redemption, delivered in action inſtead of words. This ſtrongly corroborates the Miſſion of JESUS, and ſhould incline you ſeriouſly to conſider its force.—Here GOD reveals to your father Abraham the Redemption of Mankind by the death and paſſion of his Son. Why then, I aſk you, ſhould you not

neceſſaria ad ſalutem generis humani; adeo ut qui non crediderit damnandus eſſet.

2. Ut aſſignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod unicum medium ad ſalutem Iſraelis, et reſtitutionis in divinam gratiam, eſt fides in Meſſiam jam adventum.

3. Ut aſſignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod Iſrael propter infidelitatem in Meſſiam erat deperdendus, et abjiciendus in nationibus, ut non ſit amplius Populus Dei, ſed in æternum damnandus donec Meſſiam adventum non crediderit.

4. Tandem aſſignetur locus, in quo dixit Deus, omnia Legalia præter moralia, fuiſſe umbram, ſeu figuram futurorum in adventu Meſſiæ, et quod fere omnia quæ & in divina Lege et in Prophetis fuere revelata, MYSTICE et TROPOLOGICE explicare liceat, quantumvis ſenſus literalis omnino deſpiciatur. *Amica collatio Limb.* p. 1, 2.

conclude with our learned Apoſtle, that *to Abraham and his ſeed the Promiſes being made, the Covenant that was confirmed before of* GOD *in* CHRIST, *the* LAW *which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot diſanul; that it ſhould make the Promiſe of none effect*[a]?

Having thus ſhewn your Religion to be *partial*, *imperfect*, and *preparatory*; and conſequently ſhewn the neceſſity of its *completion* by the teaching of a *Meſſiah*; to whoſe character in the perſon of JESUS, I have endeavoured to reconcile you, by removing your only plauſible objection, the miſtaken nature of the Prophecies concerning him; As a Corollary to the whole, I have proved, in order to remove your prejudices for a worldly Prince, and a reſtoration to a carnal Dominion in Judea, that your race was not at firſt choſen by GOD, and ſettled in the land of Canaan as his FAVOURITES, for whom he had a greater fondneſs than for other of the ſons of Adam; but only to ſerve the general ends of Providence, in its Diſpenſations to the whole Species; which required the temporary ſeparation of one People from the reſt of Mankind, to preſerve, amidſt an idolatrous world, the great doctrine of the UNITY, as the foundation of that univerſal Religion to be diſpenſed by JESUS, when the fulneſs of time ſhould come. Which time being now come, and

[a] GAL. iii. 16, 17.

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the end obtained, you cannot but confeſs there is no further uſe or purpoſe of a *national ſeparation*.

Let me add the following obſervation, which ought to have ſome weight with you. Whoever reads your hiſtory, and believes you, on your own word, to be ſtill tied to the Religion of MOSES, and to have nothing to expect from that of JESUS, muſt needs regard you as a People long ſince abandoned of God. And thoſe who neither *read* nor *believe*, will pretend at leaſt to think you forſaken of all REASON. Our Scriptures alone give us better hopes of your condition: and excited by the Charity they inſpire, I am moved to hazard this addreſs unto you. For a time, as they aſſure us, will come, when this veil ſhall be taken from your hearts. And who knows how near at hand the day of viſitation may be? At leaſt, who would not be zealous of contributing, though in the loweſt degree, to ſo glorious a work? For *if the fall of you be the riches of the World, and the diminiſhing of you, the riches of the Gentiles, how much more your fulneſs*[p]*!* ſays the Apoſtle Paul. Who at the ſame time aſſures us, that *blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in. And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved*[q].

[p] ROM. xi. 12. [q] Ver. 25, 26.

I know you will be ready to ſay, "that much of this ſort of Charity hath been preached to your People even amidſt the horrors of the Inquiſition; and that it has always made a ſuitable impreſſion: that indeed, in a land of liberty like Britain, you ſhould have thought much more favourably of our good will, had not a late tranſaction, in which your natural rights came in queſtion, amply convinced you that Chriſtian Charity is every where the ſame."

Sufferers, even imaginary ones, may be excuſed a little hard language; eſpecially when they only repeat the clamours of thoſe amongſt ourſelves; who, on the defeat of your Naturalization project, affected to feel moſt ſenſibly for the intereſts of Liberty and Commerce. And yet I think it no difficulty to convince unprejudiced men that the Sanctity of Government was, in the firſt inſtance, ſurpriſed; and that the Legiſlature did juſtly as well as politicly in acting conformably to their *ſecond thoughts*.

A People like this of Great Britian, the genius of whoſe Religion and Government equally concur to make them tender and jealous of the rights of mankind, were naturally led by their firſt motions to think they might extend thoſe privileges to your Nation, which they ſaw plainly were the due even of the followers of Mahomet: And yet for all this they were miſtaken.

As

As much a paradox as this may ſeem, it is eaſy to ſhew that in this point, You ſtand diſtinguiſhed to your diſadvantage from all the Nations upon earth: there being in your caſe, a peculiar circumſtance which muſt eternally exclude your claim to the general right of Naturalization, in every free Government in Chriſtendom, while men act, not to ſay with common integrity, but even with common decency, according to their profeſſion.

Let us then conſider your caſe as it is underſtood by chriſtian Communities; for men muſt always act, would they act honeſtly, according to their own conceptions of the caſe, not according to the conceptions of other men.

Now it is a common principle of Chriſtianity, that God, in puniſhing your Nation for the rejection of their promiſed Meſſiah, hath ſentenced it to the irremiſſible infamy of an unſettled vagabond condition, without Country or Civil policy, till *the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in:* and then, as we obſerved before, our St. Paul declares, that your Nation, converted to the faith in Jeſus, ſhall be received again into favour, and intitled to the privilege of Sons. The ſentence denounced upon you was not only the loſs of your own Community, but the being *debarred an entrance into any other.* For you are condemned to be aliens and ſtrangers in every land where you abide and

and ſojourn. A puniſhment which can only reſpect Particulars, and not the Community; for one People can be no other than aliens and ſtrangers to another People, by the conſtitution of Nature. So that the ſentence againſt you imports, that the Particulars of your race ſhall not be received by *Naturalization*, to the rights and privileges of the free born Subjects of thoſe civil States amongſt which you ſhall happen to be diſperſed. And we have ſeen this ſentence wonderfully confirmed by the actual infliction of it for the ſpace of ſeventeen hundred years; which muſt be confeſſed to give great credit to the truth of our intrepretation of your Prophecies.

But to underſtand more clearly what ſhare a chriſtian Community ought to take in PREVENTING ANY INSULT on thoſe Prophecies which it holds to be divine, it will be neceſſary to conſider what will be the worldly condition of your Nation when reinſtated in God's favour; which both you and we are equally inſtructed to expect.

If it ſhall be, as you imagine, a recovery of your Civil-policy, a revival of the Temple-ſervice, and a repoſſeſſion of the land of Judea; if this be the mercy promiſed to your Nation, then indeed the intermediate puniſhment, between the abolition and the reſtoration of your divine Policy, can be only the temporary want of it; and conſequently the facilitating your entry

entry at preſent into the ſeveral civil Communities of chriſtian men, might well be thought to have no more tendency to inſult the general Oeconomy of revealed Religion than the naturalizing of Turks and Tartars.

But the genius of Chriſtianity and the tenor of thoſe Prophecies, as interpreted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, declare ſuch a reſtoration to the land of Judea and a revival of the Temple-ſervice, to be manifeſtly abſurd, and altogether inconſiſtent with the nature of the whole of God's religious Diſpenſation: for by this it appears, that the Moſaic Law or Religion (as diſtinguiſhed from its foundation, natural Religion, on which it was erected) was only PREPARATORY to, and TYPICAL of the Goſpel. Conſequently, on the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the Political part of your inſtitution became aboliſhed; and the Ritual part entirely ceaſed; juſt as a ſcaffold is taken down when the building is erected; or as a ſhadow is caſt behind when the ſubſtance is brought forward into day. Nor were you, after this promiſed converſion, to expect ANY OTHER Civil policy or religious Ritual peculiar to yourſelves, or ſeparate from thoſe in uſe amongſt men who profeſs the name of Chriſt: becauſe the Goſpel, of which you are now ſuppoſed to be profeſſors, diſclaims all concern with political or civil matters; and becauſe ALL its profeſſors compoſe but ONE religious Body, under one head which is Chriſt.

All

All therefore that remains for us to conceive of your *civil* condition, when the *fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall be come in*, and Iſrael be received into grace, is this, That, on your converſion, you ſhall be NATURALIZED and incorporated, as your convenience or inclination may lead you, into the various civil Communities of the Faithful.

This is the only idea we Chriſtians can entertain of your *future* condition: and this may and muſt regulate our conduct whenever an alteration of your *preſent* condition comes in queſtion.

And now to juſtify the Councils of our Law-givers in their laſt and perhaps final determination concerning you.

If the DECLARED puniſhment of heaven on your Nation, while you continue in unbelief, be DISPERSION through the world, WITHOUT A CIVIL POLICY of your own as a People, and WITHOUT A COUNTRY, as Particulars; and that your reſtoration to favour, on your embracing the Goſpel, is the being received into the Church of Chriſt, and (as you can be received therein only as Particulars, and not as a Nation) the being INCORPORATED into the ſeveral civil Communities of chriſtians; then, any ATTEMPT to incorporate you by *Naturalization* into ſuch civil Communities, before the time predicted and

while

while you adhere to your old Religion, as directly oppoſes the Prophecies, or the declared will of Heaven, as the attempt of Julian to rebuild your Temple, after the ſentence of its final deſtruction had been put in execution: becauſe it aims to procure for you a CIVIL CONDITION while Jews, which it is foretold you ſhall not enjoy till you are become Chriſtians. Nor is it of any avail to thoſe Politicians who were concerned of late in your favour, to pretend that Julian's attempt was with *malice*, and their's with much integrity of heart; ſince this difference makes no change in the nature of the action, as it reſpects God's Diſpenſations, whatever it may be ſuppoſed to do, in the quality of it, as it reſpects the Actors. In either caſe the declared will of Heaven is oppoſed. When it is done with knowledge of the Prophecy, and with intention to diſcredit it, the attempt is wicked and impious: when with a forgetfulneſs of it, with a diſregard to Religion, and a neglect of its intereſts, the attempt (even in this beſt way of conſidering it) is indecent and diſhonourable. Not that He who thus conceives of things, hath the leaſt apprehenſion that PROPHECY can be diſhonoured, or have its predictions defeated by Civil Power: But this He thinks, that a Chriſtian State while it enacts Laws, tho' unwarily, whoſe operation combats the truth of thoſe Predictions, may very eaſily diſhonour itſelf.

A Nation profeſſing Chriſtianity, though principally buſied in the office of protecting liberty and commerce, ceaſes not to be a nation of Chriſtians, amidſt all their cares to diſcharge the duties of good Citizens. They have the intereſts and honour of their Religion to ſupport as well as the common-rights of Mankind. For though Civil ſociety be totally and eſſentially different from the Eccleſiaſtical, yet as the ſame Individuals compoſe the members of both; and as there is the cloſeſt Coalition between both, for their mutual ſupport and benefit; ſuch Civil ſociety can never decently or honourably act with a total diſregard to that coallied Religion, which, they profeſs to believe, and of which, under another conſideration, they compoſe the body.

Perhaps You may tell me, it appears from the manner in which this late affair was conducted, that none of theſe conſiderations ever entered into the heads, either of your Friends or, thoſe you will call, your Enemies, when, at length, they both agreed to leave you as they found you. It may be ſo. Yet this does not hinder but that the reſult of a Council, may be juſtified on principles which never influenced it. And as for the credit of Revelation, *that* generally becomes more conſpicuous when, thro' the ignorance and perverſeneſs of fooliſh men, the predictions of Heaven are ſupported by Inſtruments which knew not what they

they were about. Had they acted with more knowledge of the case, the enemies of Religion would be apt to say, No wonder that the honour of Prophecy is supported, when the Power which could discredit it, held it an impiety to make the attempt.

Thus you see the British Legislature is justified in its last determination concerning you, on all the general principles of piety, honesty, and decency. I speak of men, and I speak to men, who *believe* the Religion they profess. As for those profligates, whether amongst yourselves or us, who are ready to profess *any* Religion, but much better disposed to believe *none*, to them, this reasoning is not addressed. Have a fairer opinion therefore of our Charity, and believe us to be sincere when we profess ourselves,

Your &c.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION

in MDCCXL.

THE Author of *the Divine Legation of Moſes*, a private clergyman, had no ſooner given his firſt Volume to the Public, than he was fallen upon in ſo outrageous and brutal a manner as had been ſcarce pardonable had it been *the Divine Legation of Mahomet*. And what was moſt extraordinary, by thoſe very men whoſe Cauſe he was ſupporting, and whoſe Honours and Dignities he had been defending. But what groteſque inſtruments of vengeance had BIGOTRY ſet on foot! If he was to be run down, it had been ſome kind of conſolation to him to fall by ſavages, of whom it was no diſcredit to be devoured.

Optat aprum, aut fulvum deſcendere monte Leonem.

However, to do them juſtice, it muſt be owned, that, what they wanted in teeth, they had in venom; and they knew, as all Brutes do, where their ſtrength lay. For reaſons beſt known to BIGOTRY, he was, in ſpite of all his profeſſions, to be puſhed

over to the Enemy, by every kind of provocation. To ſupport this pious purpoſe, paſſages were diſtorted, propoſitions invented [a], converſation betrayed, and forged letters written [b].

The attack was opened by one who bore the reſpectable name of a *Country Clergyman*, but was in reality a Town-Writer of a Weekly News-Paper [c]; and with ſuch exceſs of inſolence and malice, as the Public had never yet ſeen on any occaſion whatſoever.

Amidſt all this unprovoked clamour, the Author had his reaſons for ſparing theſe wretched tools of impotence and envy. His friends thought it beneath him to commit himſelf with ſuch writers; and he himſelf ſuppoſed it no good policy to irritate a crew of Zealots who had, at their firſt opening, called loudly upon the ſecular arm. Our Author indeed could talk big to the FREE-THINKERS; for alas, poor men! he knew their weapons: All their arms were arguments, and thoſe none of the ſharpeſt; and Wit, and that none of the brighteſt. But he had here to do with men in Authority; appointed, if you will believe them, Inſpectors-General over clerical Faith. And they went forth in all the pomp and terror of *Inquiſitors*; with *Suſpicion* before, *Condemnation* behind, and their two aſſeſſors, *Ignorance* and *Inſolence* on each

[a] See the Author's letter to Smallbrook Biſhop of Litch. and Cov. in which he accuſes the Biſhop of this crime; To which accuſation, the Public never yet ſaw either defence or excuſe.

[b] By one Romaine and one Julius Bate in conjunction.

[c] Dr. Webſter by name. Who ſoon after, by a circular letter to the bench of Biſhops, claimed a reward for this exploit.

ſide,

ſide.—*We muſt ſuſpect his faith* (ſay they)—*We muſt condemn his book—We do not underſtand his argument*[d].

—But it may perhaps be of uſe to Poſterity at leaſt, if ever theſe ſlight ſheets ſhould happen to come down to it, to explain the provocation which our Author had given for ſo much unlimited abuſe and calumny. The Reader then may be pleaſed to know, that the Author's firſt Vol. of *The Divine Legation of Moſes* was as well a ſequel and ſupport of the *Alliance between Church and State* (a book written in behalf of our Conſtitution and Eſtabliſhed Clergy) as it was an introduction to a projected Defence of *Revelation*. It might likewiſe be regarded as an intire work of itſelf, to ſhew the *uſefulneſs of Religion to Society*. This, and the large bulk of the Volume diſpoſed him to publiſh it apart; while the preſent ſtate of Religion amongſt us ſeemed to give it a peculiar expediency, "an open and profeſſed "diſregard to Religion (as an excellent Paſtor of our Church obſerves) "being become the diſtinguiſh-"ing character of the preſent age. An evil grown "to a great height in the Metropolis of the Nation, "and daily ſpreading thro' every part of it; which "hath already brought in ſuch diſſoluteneſs and "contempt of principle in the higher part of the "world, and ſuch profligate intemperance and "fearleſneſs of committing crimes in the lower, "as muſt, if this torrent of impiety ſtop not, "become abſolutely fatal[e]." Our Author therefore thought, that as this *evil*, which is now ſpread through the populace, began in *the higher part of*

[d] Webſter, Ven, Stebbing, Waterland, and others.

[e] Biſhop of *Oxford*'s Charge, *Lond.* 1738. 4to. p. 4.

the world, it muſt be firſt checked there, if ever it were checked at all. And he knew no better way to do this, than by ſhewing thoſe People of Condition (who, amidſt all their *contempt of religious Principle*, yet profeſſed the greateſt zeal for their country and mankind) *that Religion is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of civil Government*. He thought too, this no ill device to get the advocate of Revelation a fair hearing. For he ſuppoſed, that unleſs they could be made to ſee the *uſefulneſs* of Chriſtianity to Society (which their *contempt of Principle* ſhewed they yet did not ſee) they would never be brought to believe its *Truth*, or *Divinity*.

Theſe were his endeavours and deſigns. What he got for his pains I have already told the Reader.—

In vain had he endeavoured to deſerve well of *Religion* at large, and of the *Church of England* in particular;—by fixing the true grounds of morality;—by confuting the atheiſtic arguments of Bayle, and the flagitious Principle of Mandeville;—by explaining the natures, ſettling the bounds, and adjuſting the diſtinct rights of *the two Societies*;—and by expoſing the impious tenet of Religion's being the contrivance of Politicians.

All this went for nothing with the Bigots. He had departed from the *old poſture of defence*, and had projected a new plan for the ſupport of Revelation. *His Demonſtration* (ſays one of them) *if he could make one of it, could never make us amends for changing our poſture of defence, and deſerting our ſtrong holds*[f]. For though they will

[f] Webſter's *Country Clergyman's* ſecond Letter.

talk,

talk, indeed, of the love of truth, and the invincible evidence of our Faith, yet I know not how, even amidſt all their Zeal and Fury, they betray the moſt woful apprehenſions of Chriſtianity, and are frighted to death at every fooliſh Book new-written againſt Religion, though it come but from the Mint or Bedlam. And what do our directing Ingineers adviſe you to, in this exigence? Do they bid you act offenſively, and turn the enemies artillery upon them? By no means. Keep within your *ſtrong-holds*. Watch where they direct their battery, and there to your old mud walls clap a buttreſs; and ſo it be done with ſpeed, no matter of what materials. If, in the mean time, one more bold than the reſt, offer to dig away the rubbiſh that hides its beauty, or kick down an aukward prop that diſcredits its ſtrength, he is ſure to be called by theſe men, perhaps to be thought by thoſe who ſet them on work, *a ſecret enemy, or an indiſcreet friend*[s]. He is ſure to be aſſaulted with all the rude clamours and opprobrious names that Bigotry is ever ready to beſtow on thoſe it fears and hates.

But this was the fortune of all his betters. It was the fortune of Hooker, Hales, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Bp. Taylor. They were called *Politiques*, *Sceptics*, *Eraſtians*, *Deiſts* and *Atheiſts*. But CUDWORTH's caſe was ſo particular, that it will excuſe a little enlargement.

The Philoſopher of Malmſbury was the terror of the laſt age, as Tindal and Collins have been of this. The preſs ſwet with controverſy; and every young Church-man-militant would needs try

[s] Waterland.

his arms in thundering upon Hobbes's ſteel cap. The miſchief his writings had done to Religion ſet Cudworth upon projecting its defence. Of this he publiſhed one immortal volume; with a boldneſs uncommon indeed, but very becoming a man conſcious of his own integrity and ſtrength. For inſtead of amuſing himſelf with Hobbes's peculiar whimſies, which in a little time were to vaniſh of themſelves, and their anſwers with them; which are all now forgotten, from the Curate's to the Archbiſhop's [h]; he launched out into the immenſity of the *Intellectual Syſtem*; and, at his firſt eſſay, penetrated the very darkeſt receſſes of Antiquity, to ſtrip ATHEISM of its diſguiſes, and drag up the lurking Monſter into day. Where though few readers could follow him, yet the very ſloweſt were able to overtake his purpoſe. And there wanted not *country Clergymen* to lead the cry, and tell the world,—*That, under pretence of defending Revelation, he wrote in the very manner that an artful Infidel might naturally be ſuppoſed to uſe, in writing againſt it*; that he had given us *all the filthy ſtuff that he could ſcrape together out of the ſink of Atheiſm, as a natural introduction to a demonſtration of the truth of Revelation:* that with incredible *induſtry and reading* he had rummaged all antiquity for atheiſtical arguments, which he neither knew, nor intended, to anſwer. In a word, that he was an *Atheiſt* in his heart, and an *Arian* in his book [i]. But the worſt is behind. Theſe ſilly calumnies were believed. The much injured Author grew diſguſted. His ardour ſlackened: and

[h] *Tenniſon.*

[i] See Webſter's Country Clergyman's firſt Letter againſt the *Divine Legation*; and one Mr. John Turner's diſcourſe (a Clergyman likewiſe) againſt the *Intel. Syſtem*;

the

the reſt, and far greateſt part of the Defence, never appeared. A Defence, that would have left nothing to do for ſuch as our Author, but to read it; and for ſuch as our Author's Adverſaries, but to rail at it.

Thus ſpiritual Hate, like carnal Love, levels all diſtinctions. And thus our Author came to be honoured with the ſame treatment which it had beſtowed upon a CUDWORTH. But as this hate is, for the moſt part, only envy, under the name of zeal, the Bigots, for their own eaſe, ſhould be more cautious in conferring their favours. They have given our Author cauſe enough to be proud: who, as inconſiderable as he is, has, it ſeems, his ——; as well as a LOCKE his *Edwards*, or a CHILLINGWORTH his *Cheynel*. But alas! the public, I am afraid, diſtinguiſh better. They ſee, though theſe men cannot, that the *Edwards's* and *Cheynels* increaſe upon us, while the LOCKES and CHILLINGWORTHS are become exceeding rare. Turn then, good Creatures! while you have time, turn your envy on their few remaining ſucceſſors: and leave our Author in peace. He has parts (had he but ſuitable morals) even to be of your party. But no time is to be loſt. We have a ſad proſpect before us. The CHILLINGWORTHS of the preſent age will, in a little time, be no more; while the race of *Cheynels* threatens to be immortal. But this is the fate of human things. The *Geeſe* of the *Capitol*, we know, remained for ages, after thoſe true defenders of it, the MANLII, the CAMILLI, the AFRICANI, were extinct and forgotten.

And alas! how ominous are the fears of friendſhip! I had but juſt written this, when the death of Dr. FRANCIS HARE, late biſhop of *Chicheſter*,

gave me cauſe to lament my Divination. In him the Public has loſt one of the beſt patrons and ſupports of letters and religion. How ſteddily and ſucceſsfully he employed his great talents of reaſon and literature in oppoſing the violence of each religious party in their turns, when court-favour was betraying them into hurtful extremes, the unjuſt reproaches of Libertines and Bigots will never ſuffer us to forget. How generouſly he encouraged and rewarded Letters, let them tell who have largely ſhared in his beneficence: for his character may be truſted with his enemies, or even with his moſt obliged friends. In him our Author has loſt, what he could but ill ſpare, one of the moſt candid of his Readers and ableſt of his Critics. What he can never loſe, is the honour of his eſteem and friendſhip.

But whatever advantage our Author may have received from the outrage of his enemies, the public is a real ſufferer. He had indeed the honour to be known to thoſe few, who could have corrected his errors, reformed his courſe, and ſhewn him ſafely through the wide and trackleſs waſte of ancient times. But the calumnies of the Bigots obliged him to a kind of quarantain, as coming lately from ſuſpected places, from the cabinet-council of *Old Lawgivers*, and the ſchools of *Heathen Philoſophers*; whoſe infection was ſuppoſed to be yet ſticking on him. And under ſuch circumſtances it is held ill breeding to come near our Superiors.

This diſadvantage was the more ſenſible to him, as few writers have been under greater obligations to conſult the ſatisfaction of capable readers; who gave his firſt Volume ſo kind a reception; and waited

waited with a favourable expectation for the following. And if he has made theſe readers wait too long, he has only this to ſay, that he would not follow the example of paradoxical writers, who only aim to ſtrike by a novelty. For as his point was truth, he was content his notions ſhould become ſtale and common, and forego all advantages but their native evidence, before he ſubmitted the proſecution of them to the judgment of the public.

PREFACE

TO THE

EDITION

of MDCCLVIII.

THE ſubject of theſe Volumes had occaſionally led me to ſay many things of the genius and conſtitution of PAGAN Religion, in order to illuſtrate the divinity of the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN: Amongſt the reſt, I attempted to explain the true origin of that opprobrium of our common nature, PERSECUTION FOR OPINIONS[a]: And I flattered myſelf, I had done REVELATION good ſervice, in ſhewing that this evil owed its birth to the *abſurdities of Pagan Religion*, and to the *iniquities of Pagan Politics*; for that the perſecutions of the later Jews, and afterwards, of the firſt Chriſtians, aroſe from the reaſonable conſtitution of theſe two Religions, which, by avoiding idolatry, oppoſed that univerſal principle of paganiſm, INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; or, in other words, That the Jews and Chriſtians were perſecuted as *the enemies of mankind*, for not having Gods in common with the reſt of the World.

[a] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. b. ii. ſect. 6.

But

But a learned Critic and Divine hath lately undertaken to expoſe my miſtake: He hath endeavoured to prove, that the *firſt perſecution for opinion* was of Chriſtian original; and that the Pagans perſecuted the primitive Church, not as I had repreſented the matter, for the unſociable genius of its Religion, which forbad all intercourſe with idolaters, but for its NOCTURNAL AND CLANDESTINE ASSEMBLIES. From whence it follows, as will be ſeen, by and by, that the firſt Chriſtians were fanatics, libertines, or impoſtors; and that the perſecuting Emperors, provident for the public ſafety, legally purſued a bigotted or immoral ſect for a CRIME OF STATE, and not for *matter of opinion.*

If it be aſked, How a Doctor of Laws, a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and a Judge eccleſiaſtical, would venture to amuſe us with ſo ſtrange a fancy, all I can ſay for it is, he had the pleaſure, in common with many other witty men, of writing againſt the *Divine Legation*; and he had the pleaſure too, in common with many wiſe men, of thinking he might indulge himſelf in any liberties againſt a writer whom he had the precaution not to name. —But he ſays, he never read the D. L. I can eaſily believe him: And will do him this further juſtice, that, when many have written againſt it without reading it, he is the firſt who has had the ingenuity to own it.

His ſyſtem or hypotheſis, as we find it in a late quarto volume, called *Elements of the Civil Law* [b], is, in ſubſtance, this,—"That the ſame prin-"ciple, which ſet the Roman Senate upon proſe-

[b] By the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, Chancellor of Lincoln.

"cuting

" cuting the abominable RITES OF BACCHUS, ex-
" cited the Roman Emperors to perſecute the
" PRIMITIVE CHURCH."

But it is fit, this marvellous diſcovery ſhould be revealed in his own words.—*It may be aſked* (ſays he) *in that almoſt univerſal licence and toleration, which the ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the profeſſors of all religions whatſoever, why the chriſtian profeſſion alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, ſeems to ſtand exempted, and frequently felt the ſeverity of the bittereſt perſecution* [c]. —If the learned Critic be ſerious in aſking a queſtion, which had been anſwered, and as would ſeem, to the general ſatisfaction, near twenty years ago, I ſuppoſe it is, to intimate that no other anſwer will content him but one from the Perſecutors themſelves. This then he ſhall have; tho' it be of ſixteen hundred years ſtanding.

PLINY, the younger, when proconſul of Bithynia, acquaints his maſter with the reaſons why HE perſecuted; and the ſatisfaction he had in ſo doing: —" Neque dubitabam, qualecumque eſſet quod
" faterentur, certe PERTINACIAM, ET INFLEXIBI-
" LEM OBSTINATIONEM debere puniri [d]." What was this *froward and inflexible obſtinacy?* He tells us, it was refuſing all *intercommunity* with paganiſm; it was refuſing to throw a ſingle grain of incenſe on their altars.

TACITUS, ſpeaking of the perſecution which followed the burning of Rome by Nero (the impiety of which action that mad tyrant had charged upon

[c] Page 579. [d] Lib. x. ep. 97.

the

the chriſtians) ſays, " Haud perinde in crimine " incendii, quam ODIO HUMANI GENERIS convicti " ſunt [e]." By which, I underſtand him to mean, —That tho' the emperor falſely charged them with the burning of Rome, yet the people acquieſced in the perſecution, on account of the enormous crime of which they were convicted, [*i. e.* judged guilty in the opinion of all men;] their *hatred to the whole race of mankind* [f]; for nothing but ſuch an unnatural averſion, they thought, could induce men to perſevere in rejecting ſo univerſal a principle, as *intercommunity of worſhip*.

[e] *Ann.* l. xv. c. 44.

[f] Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Jews, obſerves that the end of their peculiar Rites was to ſeparate them from all other people. From their *ſeparation* he inferred their *averſion*. In this ſenſe we are to underſtand him and other Pagan writers, when they exclaim againſt the Jews for their *peculiar Rites*. Each Nation had its own: ſo that, *peculiarity* was a circumſtance common to all. What differenced the Jewiſh Rites from all others was their *end*; which was to keep the People from all intercommunity with the ſeveral religions of Paganiſm; each of which, how different ſoever in their Rites, held fellowſhip with one another. — But here a famous French Critic, who writes de omni ſcibili, comes in ſupport of our Engliſh Critic's ſyſtem of the PSEUDO-MARTYRS of the primitive Church, and ſays, we all miſtake Tacitus's latin. His words are theſe,—" J' oſerais dire que ces mots *odio humani generis convicti* purraient bien ſignifier, dans le ſtile de Tacite, *convaincus d' être-hais du genre-humain*, autant que *convaincus de hair le genre-humain*." [Traité ſur la Tolerance, 1763, p. 60.] He tells us, *He dare ſay*, — what not one of

" Weſtminſter's bold race

dare ſay,—*that theſe words, odio humani generis convicti, may well ſignify in the ſtile of Tacitus, convicted of being hated by the human race, as well as convicted of hating the human race.*" And now Tacitus, ſo long famed for his political ſagacity, will be made to pronounce this galimatias from his oracular Tripod, " *The Jews were not convicted ſo properly for the* CRIME *of* " *ſetting fire to Rome, as for the* CRIME OF BEING HATED *by all* " *mankind.*"

The good emperor AURELIUS was himſelf a perſecutor. It is not to be doubted, when he ſpeaks in condemnation of the Chriſtian ſect, but that he would tell the worſt he conceived of them: and it muſt certainly have been that worſt, which made him a Perſecutor, ſo much againſt the mildneſs of his nature and the equity of his philoſophic manners. Now this ſage magiſtrate, in his book of *Meditations*, ſpeaking of the wiſe man's readineſs to give up life, expreſſes himſelf in this manner,—" He ſhould be ſo prepared that " his readineſs may be ſeen to be the iſſue of a " well-weighed judgment, not the effect of MERE " OBSTINACY, like that of the Chriſtians [g]." For *intercommunity* being in the number of firſt principles, to deny theſe could be owing to nothing but to *mere obſtinacy*, or downright ſtupidity. Here, the miſtaken duty of the magiſtrate, overcame the lenity of the man, and the juſtice of the philoſopher: at other times, his ſpeculations happily got the better of his practice. In his *conſtitution to the community of Aſia*, recorded by Euſebius, he ſays,—" I know the Gods are watchful " to diſcover ſuch ſort of men. And it is much " fitter that they themſelves ſhould puniſh thoſe " who REFUSE TO WORSHIP THEM, than that we " ſhould interfere in their quarrel [h]." The emperor, at length, ſpeaks out: and what we could only infer from Pliny, from Tacitus, and from the paſſage in the Meditations, he now declares in ſo many words; viz. that THE CHRISTIANS WERE PER-

[g] — Τὸ δὲ ἕτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ χριστιανοί. L. xi. §. 3.

[h] Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελὲς ἔστι μὴ λανθάνειν τὰς τοιούτους· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολάσαιεν ἂν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἡμῶν. *Eccl. Hiſt.* l. iv. c. 13.

SECUTED

SECUTED FOR REFUSING TO WORSHIP THE GODS OF THE GENTILES.

Laſtly, the imperial Sophiſt, who, of all the idolaters, was moſt learned in this *myſtery of iniquity*, as having employed all his politics and his pedantry to varniſh over the deformities of perſecution, frankly owns, that "the Jews and Chriſtians brought the execration of the world upon them, by their AVERSION TO THE GODS OF THE GENTILES [i]."

We have ſeen, from the MAGISTRATE'S own teſtimony what it was for which he perſecuted. We ſhall now ſee, from the PEOPLE'S demand, that they required the exertion of his power, on no other account. It was uſual in their ſanguinary ſhews, when criminals and offending ſlaves were expoſed to the beaſts, to call out for and demand execution on the Chriſtians, by the formula of ΑΙΡΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΘΕΟΥΣ. This was their early language when they required Polycarp for the ſlaughter. The name ATHEIST was only one of their more odious terms, for a rejector of their Gods. And it was but too natural, when they wanted to have their rage and cruelty thus gratified, to uſe expreſſions, which, at the ſame time that the terms were moſt calumniating, implied the very crime for which the magiſtrate was wont to perſecute.

What ſays our learned Civilian to this evidence? He allows Antiquity to have proved the *Fact*, that the pagan emperors did perſecute. But for

[i] Ἀλλὰ τὸ, Οὐ προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις· ὃ δὴ μέγα τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν φησι διαβολῆς· Θεὸς γὰρ ζηλωτὴς φησι — Ἄφετε τοῦτον τὸν λῆρον, καὶ μὴ τηλικαύτην ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἕλκετε βλασφημίαν. JULIAN apud Cyril. cont. Jul. lib. v.

what,

what, is a queſtion (ſays he) that *may ſtill be aſked.* And the true anſwer, with your leave, he thinks himſelf better able to give than the Perſecutors themſelves. *My reader* (theſe are his words) *will grant the fact*; *and* I COME NOW TO ACCOUNT FOR IT. The *account*, we find, had been ſettled long ago. What of that? It had never paſſed thro' his philologic Office; and therefore lay ſtill open till our maſter-critic was at leiſure to examine it.

It is not true (ſays this redreſſer of wrongs) *that the primitive chriſtians held their aſſemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power. But the converſe of that propoſition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with moleſtations from that quarter, becauſe their aſſemblies were nocturnal* [a].

He ſays, *it is not true:* The chriſtian Church ſays, *it is.* Who ſhall decide? A bundle of Grammarians; or the college of Apoſtles? I know *his* mind: and I gueſs at my reader's: And of the two, being at preſent more diſpoſed to gratify the latter, I ſhall, for once, venture to bring our Civilian before a foreign Judicatory, that is to ſay, HOLY SCRIPTURE.

From Scripture we learn, that the firſt chriſtian aſſembly, held in the *night time*, was the very night after the RESURRECTION; when the diſciples met in a *clandeſtine* manner, with the doors made faſt upon them: and this we are aſſured, was to *avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; or, in the plainer words of St. John, FOR FEAR OF THE JEWS [b]: for the Soldiers' ſtory of the reſurrection

[a] Id. ib. [b] JOHN xx. 19.

began now to make a noiſe; and the Jewiſh rulers were much ſtartled and enraged at it. But when the fright of the diſciples was a little over, and things had ſubſided into a calm, the next aſſembly, we hear of, was *in the day time*; without any marks of the former wary circumſpection [c]. Theſe open meetings were repeated as often as the returns of public worſhip required: ſometimes ſhifting from houſe to houſe; ſometimes more ſtationary in the Temple [d].

But when now the MIRACLES, worked by the apoſtles in confirmation of the ſoldiers' ſtory, had alarmed the rulers afreſh; and Peter and John, whom they had put into priſon, were, on their releaſement, enjoined ſilence, the Church, aſſembled in this exigence to implore the divine direction touching the extent of their obedience to the civil power, was anſwered by ſenſible ſigns from heaven, as at the day of pentecoſt.—*And when they had prayed* (ſays the hiſtorian) *the place was ſhaken where they were aſſembled together; and they were all filled with the holy ghoſt, and they ſpake the word of God* WITH BOLDNESS [e].

Here we ſee, that this ſecond perſecution had a different effect upon the Church from the former. At firſt, they aſſembled in a clandeſtine manner *for fear of the* Jews; now, they continued *openly* in the Temple *to ſpeak the word of God with boldneſs*. This conduct ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt: and the reaſon is not difficult to comprehend. The Church was now, for the firſt time, ſolemnly enjoined ſilence by Authority. It was fit

[c] ACTS i. 14.—ii. 1. [d] ACTS ii. 46. [e] ACTS iv. 31.

it

it ſhould be as ſolemnly decided, Who was to be obeyed; God, or the civil Magiſtrate. But this was not all: the deciſion ſerved another very great purpoſe; it ſerved, to diſſeminate the Faith: for the natural conſequence of the diſciples' perſiſting to diſcharge their miniſtry, after they had been formally forbidden, was their being *ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria*[f]. Had the Church taken its uſual remedy againſt civil violence, namely *ſecret aſſemblies*, (which, in ordinary caſes, modeſty and a ſober regard to authority preſcribe) the faithful had not been diſperſed; and the purpoſe of divine Providence, in the ſpeedy propagation of the Goſpel, had not been properly effected.

This being the caſe, In the interval between the diſperſion, and St. Paul's miraculous converſion, we hear of no *nocturnal aſſemblies*; unleſs you reckon in the number that between the Diſciples and their illuſtrious Convert, on the town-wall of Damaſcus, when they let him down in a baſket, to eſcape his perſecutors[g]. In this condition, things remained till Paul's return to Jeruſalem: and then, ſays my text, *the Churches had reſt throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria*[h].

From this time, till Herod's perſecution[i], we have not one word of any *nocturnal aſſembly* of the Faithful: but no ſooner did that perſecution commence than thoſe meetings were again reaſſumed. The Church aſſembled at midnight to pray for Peter's deliverance out of priſon: and he, when he was delivered by their prayers, found more

[f] Acts viii. 1. [g] Acts ix. 25. [h] Ver. 31.
[i] Acts xii. 1.

difficulty to get to his ſecreted friends than to eſcape from his gaolers [k].

In a word, from this hiſtory of the firſt propagation of the Faith, we learn, that, in times of perſecution, the Church aſſembled by ſtealth, and in the night: but whenever they had a breathing time, and were at liberty to worſhip God according to their conſcience, they always met together openly, and in the face of day. Thus when Paul came firſt to Rome (where this ſect ſhared in the general toleration of foreign worſhip, till the magiſtrate underſtood that it condemned the great principle of *intercommunity*) we learn, that he freely diſcharged the office of his miniſtry *from morning to night* [l]. And the ſacred writer, as if on purpoſe to inſinuate, that, when the Church had reſt from perſecution, it never crept into holes and corners, ends his narrative in this manner: — *And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired houſe, and* RECEIVED ALL *that came in unto him; preaching the kingdom of God and teaching thoſe things which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all confidence,* NO MAN FORBIDDING HIM [m].

It may be objected, perhaps, "that the queſtion is, of the *perſecuting Pagans*; and all that has been here ſaid, concerns the *perſecuting Jews* only." It does ſo: But who can help it? The Jews happened to perſecute, firſt. As to the *queſtion*, that which is eſſential in it is only this, Whether the primitive Chriſtians held their clandeſtine aſſemblies to avoid perſecution; or whether they were perſecuted for holding clandeſtine aſſemblies? — Who perſecuted,

[k] Acts xii. 13. [l] Acts xxviii. 23. [m] Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

whether

whether Jews or Pagans, is merely incidental to the queſtion, and wholly indifferent to the deciſion of it. But it may ſtill be ſaid, "That the Chriſtians having thus gotten the habit of clandeſtine aſſemblies in Judea; by that time Churches became formed in the midſt of paganiſm, they continued the ſame mode of worſhip, tho' the occaſion of its introduction was now over; ſo that the learned Doctor's poſition may yet be true, That the Pagans perſecuted for thoſe clandeſtine meetings, which had been firſt begun in Judea, to avoid perſecution, and were now continued in contempt of anthority." To this I anſwer, that the *fact*, on the Doctor's *own* principles, is impoſſible. According to his principles, clandeſtine meetings muſt be proſecuted as ſoon as obſerved; and they are of a nature to be obſerved as ſoon as practiſed. Now all Antiquity, both prophane and ſacred, aſſures us, that the chriſtian Church was not perſecuted on its firſt appearance amongſt the Pagans: who were not eaſily brought, even when excited by the Jews, to ſecond their malice, or to ſupport their impotence.

But the *fact* is, in the higheſt degree, improbable on *any* principles. Had our learned Critic conſulted what Philoſophers, and not what Philologiſts, call HUMANITY, that is, the workings of our common nature, he had never fallen into ſo abſurd a conceit, as that the inſpired propagators of a Revelation from heaven ſhould, without any reaſonable cauſe, and only in imitation of pagan worſhip, affect clandeſtine and nocturnal meetings. For he might have ſeen, that ſo ſtrange a conduct had not only been in contempt of their divine Maſter's example, who, at his arraignment before the high prieſt, ſaid, *I ſpake* OPENLY *to the world*; *and* IN

SECRET *have I ſaid nothing* [n]; but likewiſe in defiance of his injunction, when he ſent them to propagate the faith,—*What I tell you* IN DARKNESS, *that ſhall you ſpeak* IN THE LIGHT: *and what ye hear* IN THE EAR, *that preach ye* UPON THE HOUSE-TOPS [o]. Had our Critic (I ſay) paid that attention to human nature and to the courſe of the moral world, which he has miſapplied upon an old mouldy braſs, and a ſet of ſtrolling Bacchanals [p], he might have underſtood, that the firſt Chriſtians, under the habitual guidance of the Holy Spirit, could never have recourſe to nocturnal or clandeſtine conventicles till driven to them by the violence of perſecution: he might have underſtood, that the free choice of ſuch aſſemblies muſt needs be an after-practice, when church-men had debaſed the truth and purity of Religion by human inventions and ſordid ſuperſtitions; when, on emulous affectation of MYSTERY, and a miſtaken zeal for the tombs of the MARTYRS, had made a Hierarchy of that, which at firſt was only a Goſpel-miniſtry.

On the whole, therefore, we need not, I think, aſk leave of this learned man to continue in our opinion, *that the primitive Chriſtians held their aſſemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; and to eſteem his CONVERSE *propoſition*, as he affects to call it *(of their meeting with moleſtation from that quarter,* BECAUSE *their aſſemblies were nocturnal)* as a mere dream or viſion.

[n] JOHN xviii. 20. [o] MATTH. x. 27.

[p] All theſe refined ſpeculations concerning perſecution, are at the end of the ſaid book of *Elements*; in a diſſertation on a curious ancient tablet, containing the ſenatorial decree againſt a crew of wicked Bacchanals, of the ſize and dignity of our modern Gypſies.

But

But to hide nothing which may concern a matter of ſuch importance as our Critic's *Diſcoveries*; I will ingenuouſly confeſs, how much ſoever it may make againſt me, that there are inſtances in ſacred ſtory of meetings at midnight and before dawn of day, to which *no interruption of the civil Power* had driven the diſciples of Chriſt; but which were evidently done in contempt and defiance of that Power: ſuch, for example, was the clandeſtine meeting between Mary and the two Angels at the ſepulchre[q]: that between the Apoſtles and the Angel of the Lord in the common priſon[r]: and that, again, between Peter and the ſame Angel[s]: not to ſpeak of another famous *midnight aſſembly* between Paul, Silas, the Gaoler and an Earthquake[t].

We come now to the learned perſon's ſecond propoſition, called by way of eminence, the CONVERSE; which affirms, *That the primitive Chriſtians met with moleſtations from the civil power, becauſe their aſſemblies were nocturnal.* And this he aſſures us *is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE; which in his language, I ſuppoſe, ſignifies, *true in the* EXACTEST SENSE, for his argument requires ſome ſuch meaning. Now in common Engliſh — *true in the utmoſt latitude*, ſignifies *true*, *in the* LOWEST SENSE; for the *greater latitude* you give to any thing the *looſer* you make it. This moſt eloquent editor of Demoſthenes therefore, by *utmoſt latitude* may be allowed to mean, what makes moſt to his purpoſe; tho' it be what an Engliſhman would leaſt ſuſpect,—*utmoſt ſtrictneſs*. And now for his reaſoning.—By the *moleſtations the Chriſtians met with*, we muſt needs underſtand the FIRST moleſta-

[q] JOHN xx. 11, 12. [r] ACTS v. 18, 19. [s] ACTS xii. 7. [t] ACTS xvi. 25.

tions; all other being nothing to the purpoſe: for when perſecution was once on foot, I make no doubt but the *nocturnal aſſemblies*, to which perſecution had driven them, gave freſh umbrage to the Civil power; it being of the nature of a perſecuting ſpirit to take offence at the very endeavours to evade its tyranny. The queſtion between the learned Civilian and me, is, What gave birth to the *firſt*, and continued to be the *general*, cauſe of perſecution? He ſays it aroſe from *nocturnal and clandeſtine aſſemblies*: I ſuppoſe it to be occaſioned by the *Atheiſtic* renunciation of the Gods of Paganiſm.

Now it ſeems to be a violent prejudice againſt the learned Critic's ſyſtem, that no one of thoſe perſecutors ever aſſigned *nocturnal aſſemblies* as the *firſt* or *general* cauſe of perſecution; and equally favourable for my opinion, that they all concur in giving another cauſe; namely, the unhoſpitable temper of the Chriſtians, in refuſing to have Gods in common with the reſt of mankind.

PLINY, in doubt how to act with the Chriſtians of his diſtrict, writes to his maſter for inſtructions. His embarras, he tells the emperor, was occaſioned by his never having been preſent at their examinations; which made him incapable of judging *what*, or *how* he was to proſecute. "Cognitionibus de "Chriſtianis interfui nunquam: ideo neſcio *quid* "et *quatenus* aut puniri ſoleat aut quæri." He wanted to know, whether the very NAME was not criminal; either for itſelf, or for ſome miſchief hid under it——"Nomen ipſum etiam ſi flagitiis "careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur." But could a Roman Magiſtrate, when at loſs for a pretence to perſecute, overlook ſo fair a one as *voluntary*,

luntary, unforced clandeſtine aſſemblies, and hunt after a mormo hid in the combination of four ſyllables? Not that he wanted a Precedent for proceeding on theſe viſionary grounds; but the very Precedent ſhews that the Perſecutors wanted better. TERTULLIAN aſſures us, that the Chriſtians had been actually perſecuted for the NAME *only*. "Non ſcelus aliquod "in cauſa, ſed NOMEN; Chriſtianus, ſi nullius cri- "minis reus, *nomen* valde infeſtum, ſi *ſolius nominis* "crimen eſt—ſi nominis odium eſt, quis nominum "reatus: quæ accuſatio vocabulorum? niſi ſi aut "barbarum ſonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infau- "ſtum, aut maledicum, aut impudicum," &c. From whence, by the way, allow me to conclude, that when a harmleſs NAME becomes ſo odious as to occaſion the Sect, which bears it, to be perſecuted, the averſion muſt ariſe from ſome *eſſential* principle of that Sect, and not from a *caſual* circumſtance attending their religious practice.—But to return to Pliny; at laſt he diſcovers ſomething worthy of animadverſion. It was their FROWARD AND INFLEXIBILE OBSTINACY: —"neque dubi- "tabam, qualecumque eſſet quod faterentur, per- "vicaciam certe et *inflexibilem obſtinationem* debere "puniri." Now is it poſſible, if the Chriſtians were firſt perſecuted, and continued to be perſecuted, for holding their aſſemblies in the night-time, that Pliny after ſo much experience of it, ſhould not know the crime, nor how to proceed againſt the offenders? What is ſtill more unaccountable, TRAJAN, in anſwer to this application, is unable to deliver any general rule for the direction of his Miniſter.—"Neque enim in "univerſum aliquid, quod quaſi certam formam "habeat, conſtitui poteſt." But the aſſembling in a *clandeſtine manner by night*, if this was the Crime which gave offence, is an action that admits

of

of few modifications in a Court of Juſtice; and ſo might be commodiouſly ſubmitted to a general rule. On the other hand, if what the author of the *D. L.* ſays, be true, that they were perſecuted for oppoſing the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, we ſee plainly why no general rule could be delivered. They expreſſed this oppoſition in various ways and manners; ſome more, ſome leſs, offenſive:—by ſimply refuſing to worſhip with the Pagans, when called upon; by running to their tribunals uncalled; by making a profeſſion of their faith, unaſked; or by affronting the national religion, unprovoked. Now, ſo juſt and clement a prince as Trajan might well think, theſe different modes of expreſſing their abhorrence of intercommunity, deſerved different degrees of animadverſion.

When Nero, in a mad frolic, ſet Rome on fire, and then threw that atrocious act upon the Chriſtians, it is highly probable that the *nocturnal aſſemblies* of the Faithful (which, by this time, perſecution had introduced amongſt them) firſt ſtarted the happy thought, and encouraged him to purſue it. Now, if this, which is very probable, and our Critic's hypotheſis, which is very improbable, be both true, I cannot ſee how it was poſſible for TACITUS, when he acquits them of this calumny, and at the ſame time expreſſes the utmoſt virulence againſt them, to omit the mention of their nocturnal aſſemblies, had they been begun without neceſſity, and obſtinately continued after the civil magiſtrate had forbidden them. Inſtead of this, all he had to object to the Chriſtians, was their *odium humani generis:* of which, indeed, he ſays, they were convicted; *convicti ſunt:* an expreſſion, without either propriety or truth, unleſs we ſuppoſe

poſe he underſtood their refuſal of *intercommunity* to be a conviction: other proof there was none: for when examined on the rack concerning this *hatred of mankind*[u], they conſtantly denied the charge; and appealed as well to their principles as their practice; both of which declared their univerſal love and benevolence to all the creatures of God. But to reprobate the Gods of Rome, the *Orbis Romanus*, (of which our Critic can tell us wonders) was proclaiming *hatred and averſion to all the world.* Hence it is that Quintilian, ſpeaking of the topics of diſpraiſe, ſays that *the Author of the Jewiſh Religion*, (equally reprobating, with the Author of the Chriſtian, the univerſal principle of *intercommunity*) *was deſervedly hated and held ignominious as the founder of a ſuperſtition which was the* BANE *of all other Religions.*—Et parentes malorum odimus: Et eſt conditoribus urbium infamiæ, contraxiſſe aliquam PERNICIOSAM cæteris gentem, qualis eſt primus Judaicæ ſuperſtitionis Auctor. But why *pernicious and baleful to the reſt*, if not by accuſing and condemning all other Inſtitutions of error and impoſture?

MARCUS AURELIUS and JULIAN were vigilant and active; well inſtructed in the rights of Society; and not a little jealous of the intereſts of the Magiſtrate. Yet neither of theſe princes ever accuſe the Chriſtians of running to nocturnal aſſemblies unprovoked, or of perſiſting in the practice againſt imperial edicts. What a field was here for Aurelius, who deſpiſed them, to urge his charge of *brutal obſtinacy*; and for Julian, who feared them, to cry aloud of *danger to the ſtate*; their two favourite

[u] *i. e.* Concerning their principles and their practice, from whence the Pagans inferred their *hatred of mankind.*

topics againſt theſe enemies of their Religion and Philoſophy?

But ſacred ſtory may help us out where the civil fails: let us ſee then how this matter ſtands repreſented in Scripture: for I make our Critic's cauſe my own, as ſuppoſing we are both in the purſuit of Truth.

I have already given a brief account of the Aſſemblies of the infant-church, as they are occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*.

Our Critic's *converſe* propoſition, which we are now upon, only requires us to ſhew in what light the perſecutors of the Apoſtles conſidered this matter; and whether *nocturnal aſſemblies*, when any ſuch were held, either gave advantage to their Jewiſh accuſers, or umbrage to the pagan Magiſtrate, before whom the propagators of the Goſpel were convened.

The perſecutions recorded in the hiſtory of the *Acts* were almoſt all of them raiſed, or at leaſt, fomented, by the Jews. Their ſeveral accuſations againſt thoſe they called apoſtate brethren, are minutely recorded: and yet the crime of *aſſembling by night* is never brought into account. In the mean time, their point was to make the unwilling Magiſtrate the inſtrument of their malice: for this reaſon they omitted nothing which might tend to alarm the jealouſy of the State; as when they accuſed the Chriſtians of ſetting up another king, againſt Cæſar. Had their nocturnal aſſemblies therefore been held out of *choice*, they would not have neglected this advantage, ſince nothing could more

alarm

alarm the civil Magiſtrate than ſuch aſſemblies. The truth, is, the Jews could not be ignorant of the advantage this would afford them. But conſcience and humanity are not to be overcome at once. To accuſe thoſe they hated, of what they themſelves had occaſioned, required a hardineſs in vice which comes only by degrees; and after a long habit of abuſing civil juſtice and the common rights of mankind.

Our Critic, perhaps, may be ready to ſay, "That it is probable the Jews did accuſe the Chriſtian Church of this miſdemeanor, though the hiſtorian, in his ſuccinct hiſtory of the *Acts*, hath omitted to record it."

But this ſubterfuge will never paſs with thoſe who conſider how unwilling the Roman Magiſtrate always was to interfere in their conteſts, as clearly apprehending, the ſubject of them to be of *certain matters concerning their law:* ſo that under this diſpoſition, nothing could be more effectual to quicken his jealouſy and reſentment, than the charge of *clandeſtine aſſemblies*; of which, doubtleſs, the Romans were very jealous, as contrary to their fundamental Laws, tho' not ſo extravagantly umbragious as our Critic's hypotheſis obliges him to ſuppoſe.

But it will be ſaid, "Were *clandeſtine meetings* never objected to the primitive Chriſtians?" Yes, very often. CELSUS objected ſuch *meetings* to them, as things contrary to law*. But ORIGEN's reply will ſet matters right. He ſays, the Church was driven upon this obnoxious meaſure to avoid

* ὅσαι κατὰ νόμους γίγνονται. *Orig. cont. Celſ.*

the

the unjuſt perſecution of its enemies[y]: Nay Celſus, in a more ingenuous humour, confeſſes, they had reaſon for what they did; there being no other way to eſcape the ſevereſt puniſhments[z]. At leaſt then, I have the honour of finding this reverend Epicurean on my ſide, againſt our Civilian and his *converſe propoſition.*

Theſe meetings, therefore, it is confeſſed, ſubjected the Church to much cenſure; but that was all. Tertullian, vindicating the Chriſtians on this head, ſays—"Hæc coitio chriſtianorum merito "ſane illicita, ſi illicitis par; merito damnanda, "ſi quis de ea queritur eo titulo quod de factioni-"bus querela eſt[a]." The paſſage is remarkable; and ſhews, not only that the Chriſtians were never brought into condemnation for nocturnal meetings; but, why they were not; namely becauſe nothing bad or even ſuſpicious could be proved againſt them. The *law of the twelve tables* ſays, "Si qui "in urbe coetus nocturnos agitaſſit, capital eſto;" meaning, if celebrated without the licence of the magiſtrate[b]. The Chriſtians applied for this licence:

[y] ἀπὸ τῆ κοινῆ κινδύνυ.

[z] ἐ μάτην τῦτο ποιῦσιν, ἅτε διωθέμενοι τὴν ἐπηρεμένην ἀυτοῖς δίκην τῆ θανάτυ.

[a] *Apol.* cap. xxxviii.

[b] This appears to be the true ſenſe of the *Law*, from a paſſage in Cicero's dialogue *De Legibus.* Atticus thought him too ſevere upon *nocturnal aſſemblies:* he vindicates himſelf by obſerving, that, even in the midſt of Greece, Diagondas, the Theban, totally aboliſhed them.—Ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia, Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua ſuſtulit. From hence I infer theſe two things; That, were not the *Law of the twelve tables* to be underſtood in the ſenſe here given to

cence: it was denied them. They aſſembled: and ſuch aſſemblies are only liable to animadverſion, if any thing criminal or immoral be committed in them. Crimes were indeed pretended; but on enquiry, as we find by Pliny, they could not be proved. This I take to be the true explanation of Tertullian's argument: by which we underſtand that the Chriſtians were not *perſecuted*, but only *calumniated*, for their nocturnal aſſemblies.

Maximus, a pagan Philoſopher of Madaura, deſires to know of AUSTIN why the Chriſtians ſo much affected *myſtery*. To which, the anſwer is, "That, without doubt, this idolater did not "mean, the meetings in caverns and ſepulchres, "in which the faithful were wont to aſſemble, "during the heat of perſecution — but their "myſteries of Baptiſm and the Lord's-ſupper[c]." St. Auſtin ſuppoſes Maximus did not intend to object to their clandeſtine meetings: however if he did, he is ready to juſtify them on the plea of neceſſity, and to avoid perſecution. Another ſad diſcredit to the *converſe propoſition*.

But ſince our Civil Judge is ſo eager to have the primitive Chriſtians found guilty of *a crime of ſtate*, at his tribunal; I will, out of tenderneſs to his credit, and deference to his authority, conſent to give them up; and fairly confeſs, they were not only accuſed, but even puniſhed for high

to it, Cicero needed not have gone ſo far as Thebes for his juſtification: and ſecondly, that his laying ſo much ſtreſs upon the abolition's being made in the midſt of Greece, ſhews how ſtrongly in his opinion, that country was attached to *nocturnal aſſemblies*.

[c] Ep. xliv.

treaſon,

treaſon, the *crimen læſæ majeſtatis*. The proceſs was thus carried on. Chriſtians refuſed to worſhip the Gods of Rome. Sacrificing for the ſafety of the empire, and for the life of the emperor, made part of that worſhip. If the Chriſtians could not worſhip, they could not ſacrifice: But this ſacrifice was eſteemed a neceſſary part of civil obedience. The omiſſion of it, therefore, was a crime of ſtate, and amounted to high treaſon. Tertullian ſums up the charge, and pleads guilty to it. "Deos "inquitis (ſays he, repeating the pagan accuſa- "tion) non colitis, et pro imperatoribus ſacrificia "non impenditis:—ſacrilegii & majeſtatis rei con- "venimur. SUMMA HÆC CAUSA, IMO TOTA EST." Here again we ſee, Antiquity gives the excluſion to the *converſe propoſition*: for if this was the only cauſe of perſecution, certainly nocturnal aſſemblies was not one. I could wiſh therefore, by this *crime of ſtate*, to ſave the learned Doctor's credit and authority. But I am afraid, on examination, it will prove no more than their refuſal to *communicate* in pagan worſhip. Tertullian himſelf, in the paſſage quoted above, makes it amount to no more. However, it was eſteemed to be the *crimen læſæ majeſtatis*: and this we are not to wonder at; for one of the greateſt ornaments of Paganiſm, long before the moving this queſtion, had declared, that even the *excluſive* worſhip of one God came pretty near the matter. MAJESTATEM IMPERII NON DECUISSE UT UNUS TANTUM DEUS COLATUR, ſays Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus.

You ſee then, at length, to what our Critic's diſcovery amounts. No marvel he triumphs in it. "And now (ſays he) can any one doubt that "the conſiderations I have mentioned were thoſe "which GAVE AN EDGE to the Roman perſecu- "tions?

" tions? The profeſſors of Chriſtianity had NO " REASON to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities upon " the ſcore of religion, any more than the pro- " feſſors of ANY OTHER RELIGION beſides. *Anti-* " *quity, in its public capacity*, was generally very in- " dulgent to all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed " worſhip: perſecution for DIFFERENCE OF BE- " LIEF ALONE owes its nativity to more modern " ages, and Spain was its country; where Priſ- " cillian, by ſome, is held to be the firſt ſufferer " for mere opinion [a]."

——*And now can any one doubt that the conſi-derations I have mentioned were thoſe which* GAVE AN EDGE *to the Roman perſecutions?*—For a truſty Guide, allow me to recommend him, to the reader; whom he is ready to miſlead, the very firſt ſtep he makes. The queſtion is, and ſo he himſelf has ſtated it, *what* OCCASIONED *the roman perſecutions?* Here, he changes it to—*What* GAVE AN EDGE *to them?—Nocturnal aſſemblies* might *give an edge* to the perſecutions, and yet all be true that his Adver-ſary affirms, and the perſecutions be *occaſioned* by a very different thing.—But our Critic is ſo highly figurative, and often ſo ſublime, as to tranſcend the common liberties of ſpeech. Thus he ſpeaks of *Antiquity in its public capacity*, meaning, I ſup-poſe, the civil ſtates of Greece and Rome; tho' in the mode of ordinary language it would be no inelegant periphraſis for the NEW INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES: again he talks of the *nativity of perſecution*, and of its being a native of Spain; and yet he ſeems not to mean, as you would fancy, its *birth*, but its *education*. For he tells us [b] it was *born* long before, in Egypt; where it

[a] Page 579, 580.

[b] Page 583.

occaſioned, what he calls, their *holy wars*; which by his own account were *perſecutions for difference of belief alone.* However, as this Egyptian intrigue was but a *miſcarriage*, and a kind of coming before its time, he forces it to enter again into the womb of Fate, and to be born, we ſee, a ſecond time for the honour of Chriſtianity. Since then, our Critic's figures are ſo new, and of ſo tranſcendent a kind, why may we not ſuppoſe that, the *giving an edge to perſecution*, may ſignify the *giving a ſword* to it, and then all will be right.

——*The profeſſors of Chriſtianity* (ſays he) *had no reaſon to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities upon the ſcore of Religion.*—The more fools they; when their Maſter had pointed out ſo many. If they *had no reaſon*, it muſt be becauſe *no reaſon* would make an impreſſion. For they were frequently reminded by him, of what they were to ſuffer, not indeed for aſſembling in the night-time, but *for his* NAME SAKE, *and becauſe of the* WORD [c]. St. Paul too had expreſsly aſſured the churches, that *all who live godly in Jeſus Chriſt ſhall ſuffer perſecution* [d]. But where was the wonder, that they, who paid ſo little attention to their Maſter, ſhould pay ſtill leſs to their Fellow-ſervant?

——Hear me out, however, cries our learned Critic: I affirm that *the profeſſors of Chriſtianity had no reaſon to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities upon the ſcore of Religion,* ANY MORE *than the profeſſors of any other ſect or religion beſides.* On my word, he has mended matters greatly! What, had the *profeſſors of other ſects or religions* any PROPHESIES OR REVELATIONS *of ſeverities upon the ſcore of religion?*

[c] MATTH. xiii. 21. [d] 2 TIM. iii. 12.

But

But, from this eſſential difference in the *external* circumſtances of theſe two ſets of *Profeſſors*, the Pagan and the Chriſtian, we will turn to the *internal*: And, under this head, let me aſk another queſtion. The *Profeſſors* of the faith held it to be unlawful, and a deadly ſin, to have *communion or fellowſhip* with the Gods of the Heathen. But had the *Profeſſors* of Idolatry any of theſe ſcruples, or did they hold any thing analogous to them? On the contrary, did not the *Profeſſors* of Gaul, of Greece, of Aſia, and of Egypt, join heartily with the Profeſſors of Rome, to pay all due honours to the eſtabliſhed religion? while thoſe maſters of the world, as heartily joined communion with theſe ſtrangers: nay, were ready to do the ſame honours to the Goſpel, had they found the ſame diſpoſition towards mutual civilities, among its followers.

And was this ſo trifling a difference as to deſerve no notice either of the Critic or the Civilian? Had the Chriſtians, who damned Paganiſm in the lump, and reprobated the eſtabliſhed religion of Rome, as the work of evil demons and evil men, *no more reaſon to be apprehenſive of any ſeverities from this antiquity in its public capacity, than the profeſſors of any other religion beſides*, all of which not only acknowledged the Gods of Rome, but, to make good weight, added Rome itſelf to the number of her Divinities? This *public capacitied antiquity* muſt have been of an odd paſte, and ſtrangely compoſed, to uſe thoſe, who attempted the deſtruction of its Gods, in the ſame gentle way it treated thoſe who revered and honoured them.

But, as this *public capacitied antiquity*, is, after all, no more than a fantom, and *owes its nativity*

to our Critic's brain, it is no wonder, it ſhould have ſomething of the perverſity of its parent; who ſearching for the CAUSE of Perſecution, could not find it in a circumſtance in which idolatry and chriſtianity *differed*, namely, *excluſive worſhip*, a principle moſt abhorred by paganiſm; and yet can ſee it in a circumſtance where both agreed, namely, *nocturnal worſhip*, a practice moſt venerated by paganiſm.

But *antiquity* (ſays he) *in its public capacity was generally very indulgent to all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed worſhip.* This, he had many ways of learning: but the *cauſe* of the indulgence, if it be yet unknown to him, he will owe to the author of the D. L. who hath ſhewn that it was entirely owing to the *abſurdity* of its religious ſyſtems, juſt as the want of this indulgence, under Chriſtianity, was occaſioned by the *reaſonableneſs* of its ſyſtem, unreaſonably indeed inforced upon the miſtaken principles of Judaiſm. So that the indulgence of Paganiſm had continued to this day, had not Chriſtianity come boiſterouſly in, and broken the peace. Then aroſe an exception, unfavourable to the new Comer: For why was the eſtabliſhed religion ſo indulgent to every ſtrange ſect, but becauſe every ſtrange ſect was as indulgent to the eſtabliſhed? So that, in this commerce of mutual civilities, while the national worſhip enjoyed the civil rights of an Eſtabliſhment, it was content, the Stranger ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the natural rights of a Toleration. But all this good harmony, the Chriſtian faith diſturbed and violated. It condemned paganiſm in the groſs, whether *eſtabliſhed* or *tolerated:* and, under pain of damnation, required all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, to forſake their ancient abſurdities, and profeſs their faith

faith in a crucified Saviour. A circumſtance, ſufficient, one would think, without *nocturnal aſſemblies*, to ſour this ſweet-temper'd *Antiquity in its public capacity.*

But he goes on—*Perſecution for* DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE *owes its nativity to more modern ages; and Spain was its country, where Priſcillian, by ſome, is held to be the firſt ſufferer for mere opinion.*

Here we have another caſt of his office. The queſtion between us, is, "Whether the Chriſtians "were firſt perſecuted for their *faith in general*, "or for their *nocturnal aſſemblies.*" I hold the former; he contends for the latter: and to confute my opinion, obſerves "that *perſecution for* DIF-"FERENCE of *belief alone*, was of later date, and "began with Priſcillian:" That is, perſecution for MODES OF FAITH began at that time. Well, and if it did, what then? What is this to the diſpute between us? I never held, becauſe Jeſus and his apoſtles never foretold, that the firſt Chriſtians ſhould be perſecuted by the Pagans for *modes of Faith*; but on the contrary, for the very *genius of that Faith*, ſo oppoſite to the idolatrous world.

Paganiſm had no dogmatic theology, or, what we call, *Religion:* and not having the thing, it was no wonder they had not the word: neither the Greeks nor Romans, with all their abundance, had a word for that moral mode: the latin word, *Religio*, when it comes neareſt to it, ſignifies only a *ſet of ceremonies.* However tho' they were without a dogmatic theology, yet they had their general principles; but theſe principles regarded *utility* rather than *truth*; the chief of which was that of

intercommunity; which, the principle of Chriſtianity directly oppoſing, they roſe againſt this principle, and ſo began a perſecution. Pagans therefore, having no *modes of faith*, could not perſecute for any: but Chriſtians, who had, might and did perſecute for them.

Again, when the perſecution is for *modes of faith*, their truth or falſhood comes in queſtion: when, for the *common genius of a religion*, its harmleſſneſs or malignity is the only matter of inquiry. Now the pagan perſecutors were ſo far from regarding Chriſtianity as a falſe religion, that they were ready[e], according to their *general indulgence to all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed worſhip*, to put the profeſſors of the Faith on a footing with other foreign ſects: but this would not ſerve their turn. The Chriſtians believed their Religion to be the only true; and therefore, that it ſhould be the only one profeſſed. This PARADOX brought on perſecution. But for what? not for the profeſſion of a *falſehood*; but for a practiced *hatred to the whole race of mankind*.

Here then we find, the learned Critic has ſhuffled in one queſtion for another; and again put the change upon his reader; and perhaps, upon himſelf.

But to let his *reaſoning* paſs, and come to his *fact*; which, as a Critic, he is much more con-

[e] Cæcilius, the Pagan, in Minucius Felix, draws the following extraordinary character of the genius of the Roman Religion—dum obſeſſi, et citra ſolum capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alius jam ſpreviſſet iratos—dum captis hoſtilibus mœnibus, adhuc ferociente victoria, numina victa venerantur: dum undique hoſpites deos quærunt, et ſuos faciunt: dum aras extruunt etiam *ignotis numinibus* et manibus. Sic dum univerſarum gentium ſacra ſuſcipiunt, etium regna meruerunt.

cerned,

cerned, in honour, to ſupport.——*Priſcillian*, (it ſeems) *was the firſt ſufferer for mere opinion.* But how ſhall we reconcile him to himſelf in this matter? for as he goes on to diſplay his learning, he unluckily diſcovers a much earlier original of *perſecution for mere opinion* than that of the *firſt ſufferer, Priſcillian:* This was in the *holy wars* (as he calls them) of the idolatrous Egyptians[f]: which, according to his own account, were *perſecutions for difference of belief alone.* Here then we ſtick, between *the firſt*, and *the firſt of all*;—but not long. He has a fetch to bring us off. "This *holy war* was indeed *perſecution* in the Egyptians, who dealt and felt the blows; but it was ſtill *toleration*, and civil policy in thoſe, who ſet them together by the ears: for it was a ſtanding maxim with the Romans to ſupport and encourage in the ſubdued Provinces, a *variety* in religious worſhip; which occaſioning *holy wars*, the parties concerned to carry them on with proper decency and zeal, had work enough cut out for them, without forming plots and conſpiracies againſt their Maſters." Thus, altho', in theſe *tools* the Egyptians, the *holy war* might be perſecution for opinions, yet in the *workmen*, who put it to uſe, it was an engine of ſtate. *The Egyptian ſuperſtition* (ſays our learned Civilian) *was rather an engine of ſtate. Rather* than what?—than perſecution. How ſo, when ſuperſtition made them perſecute? No matter for that. It was under the direction of their Maſters: and in their hands it was an *engine of ſtate.* It is pity that ſo great a politician as our Chancellor had not ſtill, like his predeceſſors the Chancellors of old, a patent for making theſe *engines.* We know of One who has long lived upon this trade: and an example

[f] Page 585.

of his management may ſet our Chancellor's political refinement in a true light. The *Roman Conclave* ſucceeded to the *Roman Senate* in this engineering work: and the later *holy wars in Egypt* carried on by their ſainted Kings and their imperious Saints, were contrived and fomented by the *Roman Church*, as before by the *Roman* State to divert the ſubject nations from quarreling with the ſacred See.——But what then? If a ſpirit of Policy projected it, was it not a ſpirit of Superſtition that put it in hand? And the point our learned Civilian is debating, tho' only with himſelf, is the ſpirit of *Pagan Religion*, not the ſpirit of *Roman Policy*. Now ſurely it is a terrible breach in the general indulgence of paganiſm, even as he ſtates it, to find *holy wars* amongſt them *for difference of belief alone*; a ſpecies of perſecution which, in another place, he expreſsly tells us, *owed its nativity to modern ages.*

To ſay the truth, *Perſecution* is one of the wickedeſt imps of Hell, and capable of any miſchief: but who would have ſuſpected it of this trick, plaid as it were, in its mother's belly; ſo long before its NATIVITY; and while yet it had ſcarce got a *human* being? But the adventure was, in all reſpects, extraordinary; and well deſerving the pen of our illuſtrious Hiſtorian.

Seriouſly, He ſeems much better fitted, whether as Critic or Civilian, to manage the intrigues of the Greek and Roman Alphabets, (whoſe Revolutions make ſo ſhining a figure in this ſplendid Diſſertation on the *Bacchanals*) than to divelope the policy of Empires, or to adjuſt the rights of civil and religious Societies.

But

But it is now time to ſhew, that his hypotheſis has as little ſupport from *reaſon* as from *fact*: and that *nocturnal aſſemblies* neither DID, nor, on our Critic's own principles, poſſibly COULD, give birth to Perſecution, even tho' theſe aſſemblies had preceeded all *interruptions of the civil power.*

While the common opinion remained undiſputed, that nocturnal aſſemblies were held to avoid perſecution, all men ſaw a ſufficient reaſon for their practice. But ſince we have been told, that they *preceded* perſecution, and were the *cauſe* of it, we are utterly at a loſs to account for ſo extraordinary a mode of worſhip in the immediate followers of Chriſt. For the original of *nocturnal aſſemblies* being now, CHOICE, not NECESSITY, they muſt be reſolved into one or other of theſe cauſes.——

1. Either becauſe *true Chriſtianity* hath myſterious rites, proper to be celebrated in the night-time, like the pagan Orgies:

2. Or that the *firſt propagators* of the Faith affected to imitate the dark and enigmatic genius of Paganiſm.

3. Or that *their followers* were a ſet of gloomy Fanatics, who delighted in the horrors of a midnight ſeaſon.

4. Or laſtly, that, like the BACCHANALS (whoſe ſtory gave birth to this new hypotheſis) they had ſome very debauched and licentious practices to conceal, whoſe celebration was only adapted to the obſcenities of night and darkneſs.

Now, of all theſe cauſes, our learned Critic, as a Diſpenſer of the doctrine, and a Miniſter of the diſcipline of the church, can admit only the *ſecond.* He is too well inſtructed in the nature of Chriſtian Religion to allow the *firſt*; and he has too great a regard for the honour of its early Profeſſors, to ſuppoſe it poſſible to be the *third* or *fourth.*

He muſt needs conclude, therefore, that the primitive Chriſtians went voluntarily into this practice, in imitation of the myſterious rites of Paganiſm. On a preſumption of the truth of this fact, he muſt build his hypotheſis—*It may be aſked* (ſays he) *in that almoſt univerſal licence or toleration, which the Ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the profeſſors of all Religions whatſoever, why the Chriſtian profeſſion alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, ſeems to ſtand exempted, and frequently felt the ſeverity of the bittereſt perſecution?* — Having *aſked* this, he very magiſterially ſolves the riddle: *They met* (ſays he) *with moleſtations from that quarter,* BECAUSE *their aſſemblies were nocturnal.*

What, now, would be the firſt reflection of a reader, unacquainted with Greece and Rome? Would he not conclude, that *nocturnal aſſemblies* for religious worſhip were, till now, unknown in paganiſm, and regarded as a prodigy, to be expiated only by capital puniſhments? He would never conceive that *myſterious* and *nocturnal* Rites were the moſt venerable and ſacred part of their worſhip. But when he is told that theſe Chriſtian Aſſemblies were in imitation of the moſt favorite practices of gentiliſm, and to conciliate the world's good will, he will be loſt in wonder, that a modern Critic ſhould pretend to know better what would

appeaſe

appeaſe or irritate the Pagans than the primitive Church did, which had the beſt opportunities of diſtinguiſhing in theſe matters, and was moſt concerned not to be miſtaken. He will tell our Critic, that if he really aims at the ſolution of what he calls a difficulty, he ſhould ſeek for a *cauſe* as uncommon and ſingular as the *effect*. The EFFECT, *religious perſecution*, our Critic himſelf tells us was a thing almoſt unknown to the pagan world: but the CAUSE, *nocturnal aſſemblies*, was as common and as extenſive as idolatry itſelf.

— All the various Religions of Paganiſm, were ever attended with *myſterious* rites, which (to keep up a veneration for the worſhip, and to create a ſacred horror in the Participant) were generally celebrated in the *night*. But as this afforded opportunities of private enormities, as well as of danger to the State, the laws of the beſt governed countries, ſuch as Greece, required that foreign Religions, which celebrated ſuch rites, ſhould have the previous licence of the magiſtrate. Hence we find, that, by a *Law of the twelve tables*, (an inſtitute compoſed chiefly from the Grecian laws) clandeſtine aſſemblies held in the night were puniſhed with death. In courſe of time, as ſuperſtition abounded, this law was but little obſerved: for in the 566th year of Rome ſome ſpurious rites of Bacchus had crept out of Greece, and inſinuated themſelves into the city; where being celebrated by night, without the knowledge or licence of the Magiſtrate, they preſently ſuffered an abominable corruption[t]. On diſcovery, they were aboliſhed; and freſh vigour given to the *law of the twelve tables*, by a new regulation for celebrating of noc-

[t] See Div. Leg. book ii. ſect. 6.

turnal worſhip. So cautious and tender was the Magiſtrate, (even under this horrid provocation) of violating the rights of Religion in this capital point of *myſterious* worſhip: nor did the heat of reformation, carry him to impinge upon any other of the nocturnal Rites, then celebrated in Rome; ſuch as the Myſteries of the *Bona Dea.*

Greece and Aſia had been long famous for the celebration of this kind of rites: which, Rome, now maſters of the eaſt, brought home with them; together with the other ARTS of Greece, of which, Cicero [h] reckons theſe of the MYSTERIES in the firſt claſs. And thus things continued in reſpect to theſe rites, throughout the whole Roman Empire, down even to the time of Valentinian; who, out of zeal for Chriſtianity, publiſhed an edict to aboliſh the moſt famous of them all, the ELEUSINIAN. But he was diverted from his purpoſe by his prudent miniſter, Prætextatus; who aſſured him, that it would drive Greece and Aſia to deſpair, and endanger the peace of the Empire [i].

Such was the ſtate and condition of *nocturnal aſſemblies* in the pagan world: They were of the earlieſt original; of the moſt venerable uſe; and practiſed with the fondeſt attachment. In the very centre, and during the full celebrity, of theſe Rites, the Chriſtian church aroſe: which, if you will believe our Critic, went into them with as much ſpirit and attention as any Gentile Community of them all. When, ſtrange to tell! the Genius of Paganiſm, ſo indulgent to new forms of Religion, (every one of which had their *Myſteries*, and moſt

[h] *De Legg.* [i] Zoſim. l. iv.

of

of them their *nocturnal aſſemblies)* all of a ſudden turned tail, and fell foul upon this riſing Sect, for a circumſtance common to all, and in a time of full peace and ſecurity.

What could occaſion ſo unexpected a reception? Was it any diſguſt the PEOPLE had entertained to this Chriſtian rite? (for, indeed, on their paſſions, the Magiſtrate is generally obliged to ſquare his adminiſtration.) This could not be; for the People, (every where the ſame) are rarely offended, in religious matters, but with novelties. What is of common uſe they receive with indifference; often with a favourable prejudice. Our Critic confounds the nature and order of things, to make Paganiſm paſſive and unprovoked at a Principle which ſubverted the whole ſyſtem of their religion, namely the UNSOCIABILITY of the Chriſtian Faith; and yet mortally offended with a practice the moſt ſacred and univerſal in Paganiſm, namely MYSTERIOUS AND NOCTURNAL RITES.

But it will be ſaid, "Some jealouſy entertained of this way of worſhip, by the MAGISTRATE, might occaſion that fiery inquiſition: Nocturnal aſſemblies had been abuſed, and therefore it became him to be very attentive to every new inſtitution of the like kind." Here our Critic will appeal to his *Bacchanalian rites:* and, indeed, it ſeems to have been this deteſtable Mummery which firſt put the fancy into his head. But this abuſe was a ſingle, temporary thing, and had been long forgotten. Nocturnal aſſemblies had ſince that time been practiſed, for many ages, without jealouſy. Cicero, indeed, in an ideal Utopia [k], had declared againſt

[k] *De Legg.*

them:

them: but he brings them in, apparently for no other purpoſe than to ſtigmatize his mortal enemy Clodius. And, what is remarkable, he gives not the leaſt intimation that the abuſes of nocturnal aſſemblies had ever been ſo general as to keep alive the attention or jealouſy of the Magiſtrate: Particulars had now and then perverted them to the gratification of their luſts; and for this, (for want of better evidence) he appeals to the comic poets of Greece, where indeed, ſome of the Myſteries appear to have undergone a ſhameful corruption.

However, let us ſuppoſe the ſtate of Rome to be as delicate on this point as our Critic's hypotheſis requires it to be: Their circumſpection could never go further than to regulate or to reform theſe Aſſemblies: it could never proceed to the ſuppreſſion or abolition of them, becauſe, nocturnal meetings made an eſſential part of their own worſhip.

It is probable, indeed, that thoſe ridiculous calumnies of the Vulgar, concerning the immoralities committed in the nocturnal aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, might reach the ears of the Magiſtrate: But if he attended to them, would he not begin his inquiry by examining into the truth of them, as he had done in the caſe of the *Bacchanalian rites?* and when he found them as innocent as Pliny the Younger, on a like examination, reports them to have been, would not the ſearch have ended here; and a ſhare of that univerſal toleration, which he afforded to others, been imparted to them likewiſe?

Our Critic may perhaps ſay, that theſe Chriſtians were ſuch lovers of a ſecret, that they would not

not reveal the nature of their rites to the Pagan Magiſtrate, though it were to entitle them to his protection. Should he ſay this, he would forget the principles I have now forced him to go upon, which will allow no other reaſon of the firſt Chriſtians' falling into this practice, than to conciliate the good will of their Pagan neighbours.

Well but "there might be ſome idolatrous Teſt required to qualify the Church for its ſhare in this toleration of nocturnal worſhip; and, for non-compliance with the condition, (he may tell us) the perſecution began." It is, indeed, likely enough that ſuch a Teſt was required; and moſt probably it conſiſted in their approbation of the principle of *intercommunity*; if not in words, yet at leaſt in deeds; ſuch as throwing a grain or two of incenſe on the Pagan altars. But then the miſchief of this evaſion is, that it brings us round again to the place from whence the learned Critic ſet out, when he turned his back upon the reaſon given in the *Div. Leg.* for toleration, and would needs ſeek a better in *nocturnal aſſemblies*.

Hitherto we cannot conceive how a perſecution could ſo much as *begin*, from the cauſe our Critic has aſſigned. But let us, for argument's ſake, ſuppoſe, that the Magiſtrate, out of mere caprice (for we have ſhewn he could have no reaſon) and in the plenitude of his power, would forbid the Chriſtians their *nocturnal aſſemblies*, while he allowed the privilege to all beſides: Even in this caſe, his perſecution muſt end almoſt as ſoon as it was begun: it is impoſſible, on our Critic's own principles, that it ſhould have any continuance: for, as the *choice* of nocturnal aſſemblies was only to reconcile Paganiſm to Chriſtianity, when they found

found their neighbours receive theſe advances ſo ungraciouſly, they would ſoon remove the occaſion of offence; in which they would be quickened by their knowledge of the *rights of the Sovereign*, to whom, in things indifferent, they had been told, all obedience was due.

Thus the matter being turned on all ſides, we find that NO perſecution whatever could follow from that *cauſe*, which our learned Civilian has aſſigned for the whole TEN.

But it being certain, that perſecuted they were; and as certain, that our Civilian will admit of no other cauſe than what he himſelf has given, namely their *nocturnal aſſemblies:* Let us for once ſuppoſe him to be in the right; and then conſider the conſequences which will ariſe from it. When we have done this, we ſhall have done his Syſtem full juſtice; and the reader, with ſufficient knowledge of the caſe, may take or reject it as he finds himſelf inclined.

HYPOTHESIS's are often very plauſible, and much oftener very flattering things. You ſhall have of theſe, ſo fair and promiſing, that an honeſt reader ſhall be tempted to wiſh them, and, from wiſhing, to think them, true. But this, before us, is, by no means in the number of thoſe ſpecious viſions.

I ſeriouſly believe it would be doing our Chancellor great injuſtice to ſuppoſe he had any other view in this notable diſcovery than to do honour to the Chriſtian name: much leſs ſhould we ſuſpect that he had any formed deſign of traducing it. Yet it is very certain, that neither COLLINS nor TINDAL

TINDAL could have formed a project more injurious to the reputation of primitive Chriſtianity, than to prove, what is the aim of this learned Critic, that THE FIRST CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR HOLDING THEIR ASSEMBLIES IN THE NIGHT TIME. For it inevitably follows, that theſe early profeſſors of the Faith were either wild FANATICS or abandoned LIBERTINES: and conſequently, that the pagan Magiſtrate did but his duty in inforcing, what the Church has been ſo long accuſtomed to call, a *cruel and unjuſt perſecution.*

Before the conception of this new fancy, it was univerſally ſuppoſed, that the primitive Chriſtians *aſſembled in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power.* This our Critic aſſures us is a miſtake. It is NOT TRUE (ſays he) *but the converſe of the propoſition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with moleſtation from the civil power* BECAUSE *their aſſemblies were nocturnal.*

While the common opinion prevailed, theſe *nocturnal Aſſemblies*, recorded in ancient church-hiſtory, gave as little ſcandal to the Pagans of our times, as indeed they did to the Pagans of their own. But when this opinion is given up for the ſake of its CONVERSE, we ſhall be utterly at a loſs to account, to our irreligious Inquiſitors, for ſo extraordinary a CHOICE in the immediate followers of Chriſt.

It hath been ſhewn above, that theſe voluntary Aſſemblies could be occaſioned only by one or other of theſe cauſes—either that the Chriſtian religion hath *Myſteries*, like the Pagan, which re-

quired nocturnal celebrations—or that the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity affected to imitate the practices of Paganiſm—or that they were Fanatics, and delighted in the horrors of a midnight ſeaſon —or laſtly, that, like the debauched Bacchanals, they had ſome very licentious Rites to be performed only in the dark.

Our Critic's religious principles will not allow him to admit of any of theſe cauſes but the *ſecond*. And I ſhave ſhewn that, from the *ſecond*, no perſecution could ariſe, or, at leaſt, could continue. This, on a ſuppoſition that the Chriſtians affected to imitate pagan obſervances. But it is a ſuppoſition which contradicts fact, and violates the nature of things. The hiſtory of the infant-church informs us, that the firſt Propagators of the Faith were moſt averſe to every thing which bore a ſhew of conformity to Paganiſm. They could not but be ſo, for their Religion roſe out of Judaiſm, which breathes nothing but oppoſition to Idolatry.

In courſe of time, indeed, when pious zeal, by growing over-heated, became leſs pure; when love of pomp and ſhew, (which is natural to men buſied in the external offices of Religion) and the affectation of importance (which is as natural to thoſe who preſide in them) had ſpread their leproſy through the Church, the Miniſters of the Goſpel would be fatally tempted to rival the magnificence, and to ape the myſterious air of Paganiſm. And the obliquities, which led them into theſe follies, they would ſtrive to palliate or diſguiſe by a pretended impatience for the ſpeedier extenſion of the Faith. I have ſhewn, from Caſaubon, how this corrupt conduct infected all the language of Theo-

logy.

logy[1]. But this was ſome ages after the times in queſtion.

Our Critic may perhaps tell us, it was accident or whim which drew together the firſt Chriſtians into dark corners; and as the *evening and the morning made the firſt day* of the old Creation, ſo it was to make *the firſt day* of the new: And thus *Night*, by her proper Uſher, *Chance*, became once again reinſtated in her ancient honours.

But this will ſtand him in ſmall ſtead. He has not only to account for the firſt threatenings of Perſecution, but for the Act; and, what is ſtill more, for the continuance of it. Now, what the Chriſtians fell into with ſo little reaſon they would certainly forſake on the appearance of ſo great, as the diſpleaſure of the Magiſtrate, and the crime and danger of diſobeying lawful Authority. It is poſſible, indeed, that, in the heat of Perſecution, ſome over zealous men might miſtake their noncompliance with ſuch commands as a neceſſary mark of their open profeſſion of the Faith. But this was not generally the caſe: Their common practice was *to give to Cæſar the things which were Cæſar's; and to God, the things which were God's:* Of this, we have ſufficient evidence in the famous letter of Pliny the younger, before quoted. Trajan had forbidden the aſſemblies called *Hetæriæ*, which ſucceeded thoſe of public worſhip, and were uſed by the Chriſtians of Bithynia, to confirm and bind them to one another in the practice of virtue, by the external badge or ceremony of *breaking bread:* and we are aſſured by this vigilant Magiſtrate, that the Chriſ-

[1] *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 200. part 1. 4th ed.

tians, under his juriſdiction, obeyed the imperial Edict[m].

From all this Letter it appears, that the only *cauſes*, which, on our Critic's principles, could poſſibly bring on and continue perſecution, (if perſecution aroſe from nocturnal or clandeſtine aſſemblies) muſt be either FANATICISM OR DEBAUCHED PRACTICES: in the firſt caſe, their obſtinacy would make them perſiſt; in the other, their libertinage. To theſe agreeable concluſions, have our learned Civilian's principles reduced us for a ſolution of our difficulties: and ſuch is the flattering picture, he has exhibited of primitive Chriſtianity. Could its moſt inveterate enemies deſire more! or, if its friends ſhould give credit to theſe fancies, would its enemies be content with leſs? Such are the diſgraces which this *converſe propoſition* is ready to bring upon Chriſtianity: diſgraces of ſo complicated a ſtain, as not ſimply to diſhonour our holy Faith, but even to juſtify the powers of Paganiſm in all the violences they offered to it. For the Magiſtrate had a right to ſuppreſs the clandeſtine meetings of Fanaticiſm and Debauchery.

But our Enemies will have no need to fly to *conſequences* for the diſcharge of the pagan Magiſtrates; our Chriſtian Chancellor himſelf proceeds directly to their acquittal. He frankly tells us, that their duty, as Magiſtrates, required them to animadvert on *nocturnal aſſemblies*, where they

[m] — quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere, &c. — quibus peractis morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium: quod ipſum facere deſiiſſe poſt edictum meum, quo ſecundum mandata tua hetærias eſſe vetueram. lib. x. ep. 97.

bound

bound themſelves to one another, and employed the word SACRAMENTUM for a kind of teſſera of union; the very appearance of guilt which had occaſioned the *decree* againſt the infamous rites of Bacchus.

You will ſay, this is horrid, to make the Magiſtrate proſecute the primitive Chriſtians by the ſame proviſion which obliged him to exterminate thoſe monſters of ſociety! But who can help it? Our Chancellor had but this one precedent for the proſecution of *nocturnal aſſemblies*; and if it be not the moſt honourable ſupport of his hypotheſis it is not his fault.

But there was no proof (you will ſay) againſt the Chriſtian, as there was againſt thoſe Bacchanalian aſſemblies. What of that? Our Chancellor opines, that mere ſuſpicion, in ſo delicate an affair, was ſufficient to acquit the Magiſtrate of blame: nay, to make his conduct, in his care and jealouſy for the State, very commendable. You ſhall have his own words. *A jealous Governor therefore, and a ſtranger to the true principles of Chriſtianity, was naturally open to ſuch impreſſions; and* COULD NOT BUT *exert that caution and attention which the practice of their Country ſo warmly recommended* [n]. Could Cicero himſelf have been more *warm*, not to ſay more eloquent, in defending the Decree which diſperſed the profligate crew of Bacchanals?

And now a very capital point of Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is cleared up and ſettled. "The Ten Perſecutions were begun and carried on, not, as

[n] Page 579.

had been hitherto ſuppoſed, upon the ſcore of Religion, or mere opinion, but againſt bad Subjects, or, at leaſt, againſt thoſe who were reaſonably ſuſpected of being ſuch." And this is given to us by the learned Critic as the true defence of free and generous Antiquity, IN ITS PUBLIC CAPACITY: juſt as in free Britain, (where, indeed, we now find ſmall difference, as to freedom, between its *public* and its *private capacity*, except to the advantage of the latter) when Papiſts complain of the penal laws, we reply, They are not inforced againſt erroneous Religioniſts, but againſt refractory Subjects, for refuſing the Magiſtrate the common ſecurity for obedience. — There is indeed a difference; our anſwer to the Papiſts is a ſerious truth, and our Critic's apology for the pagan Perſecutors, an idle and ridiculous fiction.

But as if he had not yet done enough for his beloved Antiquity, in thus blanching its TEN PERSECUTIONS; he goes on to clear it from the opprobrium of perſecution in general; by charging the original of this diabolic practice on the Chriſtian Church; where indeed, the Freethinkers had very confidently placed it, till the Author of the D. L. reſtored it to its right owner, the Pagan Magiſtrate. ——PERSECUTION FOR DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE (ſays our learned Civilian) OWES ITS NATIVITY TO MORE MODERN AGES; *and Spain was its country; where Priſcillian, by ſome, is held to be the firſt ſufferer for* MERE OPINION.

Thus the whole blame of PERSECUTION for Religion is thrown from the Gentile Perſecutors, upon the ſuffering Church: And Chriſtianity, or for its follies or its crimes, (as either inſulting civil Society by its obſtinacy, or polluting it by its vices) ſtands covered

covered with confuſion. So happy an Advocate has our learned Civilian approved himſelf for the Cauſe to which, by a double tye, he had devoted and engaged his miniſtry.——

The length of theſe animadverſions hindered them from finding a place in the body of this volume, amongſt other things of the like ſort. Except for this, he had no claim to be diſtinguiſhed from his fellows. I had a large choice before me: for who has not ſignalized himſelf againſt the DIVINE LEGATION? Bigots, Hutchinſonians, Methodiſts, Anſwerers, Freethinkers, and Fanatics, have in their turns been all up in arms againſt it. Quid dicam? (to uſe the words of an honeſt man in the ſame circumſtances) Commune fere hoc eorum fatum eſt, quorum opera ſupremum Numen uti vult in Eccleſia, ut MATURE *inſidiis*, *accuſationibus* et *criminationibus* appetantur. The ſcene was opened by a falſe Zealot, and at preſent ſeems likely to be cloſed by a true Behmeniſt*. A natural and eaſy progreſs, from knavery to madneſs, where the Impoſture fails: as the progreſs is from madneſs to knavery, where it ſucceeds. It was now time to ſettle my accounts with them. To this end I applied to a learned perſon, who, in conſideration of our friendſhip, hath been prevailed upon to undergo the drudgery of turning over this dirty heap, and marking what he imagined would in the leaſt deſerve, or could juſtify any notice: for I would not have the reader conceive ſo miſerably of me as to think I was ever diſpoſed to look into them myſelf. He will find, as he goes along, both in the text and the notes, what was thought leaſt unworthy of an anſwer. Nor let it give him

* Rev. Mr. William Law.

too much ſcandal that, in a work which I have now put into as good a condition for him as I was able, I have revived the memory of the numerous and groſs abſurdities of theſe writers, part of whom are dead, and the reſt forgotten: For he will conſider, that it may prove an uſeful barrier to the return of the like follies, in after times, againſt more ſucceſsful Inquirers into Truth. The ſeeds of Folly, as well as Wit, are connate with the mind: and when, at any time, the teeming intellect gives promiſe of an unexpected harveſt, the traſh ſtarts up with it, and is ever forward to wind itſelf about riſing Truth, and hinder its progreſs to maturity. Were it not for this, I ſhould refer the candid reader to what I take to be the beſt defence and ſupport of the ARGUMENT OF THE DIVINE LEGATION, the ſuccinct view of the whole and of all its parts, which he will find at the concluſion of the laſt of theſe Volumes. For as Lord Verulam ſays excellently well, THE HARMONY OF A SCIENCE, SUPPORTING EACH PART THE OTHER, IS, AND OUGHT TO BE, THE TRUE AND BRIEF CONFUTATION AND SUPPRESSION OF ALL THE SMALLER SORTS OF OBJECTIONS.

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THE

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF *MOSES* DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK IV.

SECT. I.

THE foregoing volume hath occaſionally, and in the courſe of my main argument, ſhewn the reader, that it was always the practice of mankind to liſten to, and embrace ſome pretended REVELATION; in neglect of what is called, in contradiſtinction to it, the RELIGION OF NATURE; that, I mean, which is only founded on our relation to the firſt Cauſe; and deducible from the eternal reaſon of things [a].

[a] Σὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τῆς διεσπαιμένης πλάνης, ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν διάπλωσιν. φύσει μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐνοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλόν τι καὶ ὠφέλιμον τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαῖνον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίαν τι καὶ ὑσίαν. πάλαι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κοινοῖς λογισμοῖς προειληφασαν, τὸν τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργὸν, τοῦτο πάσῃ λογικῇ καὶ νοερᾷ ψυχῇ, φυσικαῖς ἐνοίαις ὑποσπειραμένου. ὃ μὴν καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκίχρησε. Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* l. ii. c. 6.

If ever a general propenſity might be called a dictate of Nature, this ſurely may. That ſuch a propenſity there is, the Deiſt, or pretended follower of *natural Religion*, freely confeſſeth; nay, is forward to inſiſt upon, as a circumſtance of diſcredit to thoſe *Revelations*, which we receive for true. Yet ſurely, of all his viſionary advantages, none ever afforded him leſs cauſe of triumph; a conſequence flowing from it, which is entirely ſubverſive of his whole ſcheme.

For let me aſk ſuch a one, What could be the cauſe of ſo univerſal a *propenſity* in all ages, places, and people? But before he anſwer, let him ſee that he be able to diſtinguiſh between the cauſes which the Few had in giving, and the Many in receiving, pretended Revelations. The cauſes for projecting and giving are explained at large in the former volume; where it is ſhewn, that all the pretended Revelations, but real corruptions of religion, came from Princes and Lawgivers. It is true, he hath been taught otherwiſe. His inſtructors, the Tolands and Tindals of the time, aſſure him, that all came from the PRIESTS; and I ſuppoſe they ſpoke what they believed: It might be ſo for any thing they knew.

My queſtion then is, What could induce Mankind to embrace theſe offered Revelations, unleſs it were,

1. Either a CONSCIOUSNESS that they wanted a revealed Will for the rule of their actions; or,

2. An old TRADITION that God had vouchſafed it to their forefathers?

One

One can hardly conceive any thing elſe; for a general effect muſt have as general a cauſe: which, in this caſe, is only to be found in the *nature* of man; or in a *tradition* preſerved in the whole race. Prince-craft or prieſt-craft might indeed offer them, for their own private ends: but nothing ſhort of a common inducement could diſpoſe mankind to accept them.

1. As to the conſciouſneſs of the want of a Revelation, that may fairly be inferred from the miſerable blindneſs of our condition: And he who wants to be informed of this, ſhould conſult Antiquity; or, what may be more for his eaſe, thoſe modern writers, who, for no very good ends, but yet to a very good iſſue, have drawn ſuch lively pictures of it, from thence. But without going even ſo far, he may find, in the very diſpoſition to receive ſuch abſurd ſchemes of religion as Revelations from heaven, more than a thouſand other arguments to prove men ignorant of the firſt principles of natural religion; a very moderate knowledge of which would have certainly detected the impoſture of thoſe pretences. But now, men ſo totally at a loſs for a rule of life, would greedily embrace any direction that came with pretended credentials from heaven.

If we turn to the Few, the wiſe and learned amongſt them, we ſhall find the caſe ſtill more deſperate. In religious matters, theſe were blinder even than the People; and in proportion too, as they were leſs conſcious of their ignorance. The moſt advanced in the knowledge of human nature and its dependencies, were, without queſtion, the ancient Sages of Greece. Of theſe, the wiſeſt, and far the wiſeſt, was SOCRATES; for he ſaw and confeſſed his ignorance, and deplored the want of a

ſuperior direction. For the reſt, who *thought themſelves wiſe*, and appeared not ſo ſenſibly to feel their wants, we have ſhewn at large[b], how they *became Fools*; and, debauched by falſe ſcience, affected the language of Gods before they had well emancipated themſelves from the condition of brutes[c]. The two great ſupports of natural religion, in the world at large, are the belief of a FUTURE STATE, and the knowledge of MORAL OBLIGATION. The firſt was rejected by all; and the true ground of the ſecond was underſtood by none: The honour of this diſcovery was reſerved for Revelation, which teacheth us, in ſpite of unwilling hearers, that *the real ground of moral obligation is the will of God.*

2. There only remains that other poſſible cauſe, *the general tradition of God's early revelation of his will to mankind*, as delivered in Scripture. I, for my part, ſuppoſe both concerned in the effect; and that that ſtate of mind which diſpoſed men to ſo ready and general a reception of theſe numerous impoſtures, was the reſult of the conſciouſneſs of their wants, joined to the prejudice of Tradition. If the Deiſt allow Tradition, he gives up the queſtion; if he acknowledges our wants, he affords a ſtrong preſumption, in favour of Revelation.

For if man (let the cauſe proceed from what it will) be ſo irrecoverably blind and helpleſs, it is highly reaſonable to think that infinite goodneſs would lead and enlighten him by an extraordinary revelation of his will.

[b] Book iii. ſect. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

[c] The Stoics, who thought the ſoul mortal, yet reckoned their *wiſe man* equal, or ſuperior, to the gods.

But

But here, Tindal objects, "That this blindneſs is men's own fault, who, inſtead of improving their reaſon, and following its dictates, which would lead them into all truth, (our own Scriptures aſſuring us, that *that which may be known of God is manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed it unto them*[a]) go on like beaſts, and follow one another as they are led or driven."

To this I anſwer, that what had been the lot of man from the beginning of the world to the birth of CHRIST, was like to continue ſo to the end of it. A deviation ſpringing from no partial cauſe of climate, government, or age; but the ſad effect of human weakneſs in the circumſtance of our earthly ſituation.——By the fault of man it is true; but ſuch a fault as, it is ſeen by long experience, man could never remedy. He therefore flies to Heaven for relief; and ſeems to have reaſon for his confidence.

But to this, our *man of morals* has a reply at hand; "That if ſuch be our condition, it may indeed want redreſs; but then, a Revelation will not render the cure laſting." And for this he appeals to the corrupt ſtate of the Chriſtian world; which, in his opinion, ſeems to demand a new Revelation, to reſtore the virtue and efficacy of the old.

But let me tell this vain Rationaliſt, There is an extreme difference between the corruption of the Pagan and the Chriſtian world. In the Pagan, where falſe Revelations had given men wrong ideas of the attributes of the Deity, they muſt of courſe,

[a] Rom. i. 19, 20.

and did in fact, act viciously UPON PRINCIPLE [e]; a condition of blindness which seemed to call out on God's goodness for a remedy: but in the Christian world, for the very contrary reason, all wicked men act ill AGAINST PRINCIPLE; a condition of perverseness which seems to call out for nothing but his justice: God, according to the state of the case, having done every thing that man, with all his presumption, can pretend to expect from the goodness of his Maker.

So far on the Deist's own principles; on his own false notion that God's Revelation is represented in Scripture to be merely a *republication of the religion of nature.* For, as such he has presumed to comment on it; and as such, in excess of complaisance, we believers have generally thought fit to receive it. But I shall, ere long, shew it to be a very different thing: and, from its true nature, prove not only (as here) the *use* of Revelation, but likewise the absolute *necessity* of it, to mankind. I shall shew that what our adversaries suppose the only, was but the secondary end of the two Revelations; that what

[e] See *Div. Leg.* p. 147,—8. vol. i. edit. 2[d].——Τὴν φύσιν θνητοὺς καὶ ἀνθρωπίναις κεχρημένους συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἀγαθῶν χορηγοὺς, σωτῆρας καὶ θεοὺς ἀναγορεύειν, την σεβάσμιον ἔννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσαν, ἐφ' οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἐυεργέτας μεταθεικότες. τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα συνεῖχεν αὐτοὺς φρενῶν ἀποπληξία, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν πλημμελουμένων τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ὑπολογίζεσθαι, μηδ' ἐρυθριᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχρῶς περὶ αὐτῶν φημιζομένοις, τὰ πάντα δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν παρεχομένας ὠφελείας, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνισταμένας δυναστείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀποθαυμάζειν. νόμων γοῦν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἤδη πρότερον μηδέπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευομένων, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἁμαρτίας [τιμωρίας] ἀπηωρημένης, μοιχείας καὶ ἀῤῥένων φθορὰς, ἐκθέσμους τε καὶ παρανόμους γάμους, μιαιφονίας τε καὶ πατροκτονίας, τέκνων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν σφαγὰς, καὶ μὴν καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις πεπραγμένας ὄντως τοῖς οἰκείοις προστάταις, οὓς θεοὺς ἡγοῦντό τε καὶ ἀπεκάλουν, ὥσπερ ἐν μέρει κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀτεμνημόνευον, τὴν τούτων μνήμην ὡς σεμνῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὀψιγόνοις ἀπολιπόντες. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* l. ii c. 6.

was

was primary and peculiar to them, as Revelations, was of ſuch a nature as the utmoſt perverſity of man could not, in any degree, defeat; of ſuch a nature as manifeſts there muſt needs be theſe Revelations; and that to expect more, or further, would not only be unreaſonable, but abſurd[f].

At preſent, to go on with the Deiſt in his own way. From what hath been ſaid, we ſee a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath indeed communicated his will to mankind in that extraordinary way we call REVELATION.

And now, that amazing number of *falſe* religions, under paganiſm, begins to appear leſs formidable and injurious to the *true*. It was on a preſumption they would prove ſo, that, in the foregoing volume, they were drawn out in review, with each its falſe Prophet at its head[g]. And here at laſt they are employed, wicked inſtruments as they were, and wickedly as they have been abuſed in diſhonouring truth, to evince the high probability of God's having actually given a revelation of his will to mankind.

If, therefore, there be ſuch a thing as true revelation, our higheſt intereſts will engage us in the ſearch of it: and we ſhall want no encouragement to proceed, becauſe it muſt needs have ſome *characteriſtic mark* to diſtinguiſh it from the falſe. And this mark muſt be our guide.

[f] See Book ix. and in the mean time, *Sermons on the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Serm. v. vol. i.

[g] See book ii. ſect. 2.

Now if we look round the ancient world, and take a view of the numerous religions of paganiſm, we ſhall find (notwithſtanding all pretended to be original, and all were actually independant) ſo perfect a harmony in their genius, and conformity in their miniſtrations, as to the object, ſubject, and end of religious worſhip [h], that we muſt needs conclude them to be all falſe, or all true. All true they could not be, becauſe they contradicted one another, in matters of practice and ſpeculation, profeſſed to be revealed.

But amongſt this prodigious number of pretended revelations, we find ONE, in an obſcure corner of the globe, inhabited by a ſingle family, ſo fundamentally oppoſite to all the other inſtitutions of mankind, as would tempt us to conclude we have here found what we ſearch after.

The many particulars in which this religion differed from all others, will be occaſionally explained as we go along. For, as our ſubject forced us, in the former volume, to draw into view thoſe marks of agreement which the falſe had with true revelation; ſo the ſame ſubject brings us now to the more pleaſing taſk of ſhewing wherein the true differed from the falſe. To our preſent purpoſe it will be ſufficient to take notice only of that primary and capital mark of diſtinction, which differenced JUDAISM from all the reſt; and this was its pretending TO COME FROM THE FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS; AND ITS CONDEMNING EVERY OTHER RELIGION FOR AN IMPOSTURE.

I. Not one of all that numerous rabble of revelations, ever pretended to come from the FIRST

[h] See book ii. ſect. 1, 2, 5, 6. book iii. ſect. 4.

CAUSE,

CAUSE [i], or taught the worſhip of the one God in their PUBLIC miniſtrations [k]. So true is that which Euſebius obſerves from Scripture, that "for the "Hebrew people alone was reſerved the honour of "being *initiated* into the knowledge of *God the* "*Creator* of all things, and of being inſtructed in "the

[i] See *Div. Leg.* book ii. ſect. 2.

[k] Dr. Prideaux in his learned *Connexions*, has indeed told us a very entertaining ſtory of ZOROASTRES; whom, of an early law-giver of the Bactrians, Dr. Hyde had made a late falſe prophet of the Perſians, and the preacher up of one God in the public religion; which doctrine, however, this learned man ſuppoſes to be ſtolen from the Jews. But the truth is, the whole is a pure fable; contradicts all learned antiquity; and is ſupported only by the ignorant and romantic relations of late Perſian writers under the Caliſes; who make Zoroaſtres contemporary with Darius Hyſtaſpis, and ſervant to one of the Jewiſh prophets; yet in another fit of lying, they place him as early as Moſes; they even ſay he was Abraham; nay, they ſtick not to make him one of the builders of Babel. It may be thought ſtrange how ſuch crude imaginations, however cooked up, could be deemed ſerviceable to Revelation, when they may be ſo eaſily turned againſt it; for all falſhood is naturally on the ſide of unbelief. I have long indeed looked when ſome *minute philoſopher* would ſettle upon this corrupted place, and give it the infidel taint. And juſt as I thought, it happened. One of them having grounded upon this abſurd whimſy, the impious ſlander *of the Jews having received from the followers of Zoroaſtres, during the captivity, juſter notions of God and his providence than they had before.*—See *The Moral Philoſopher*, vol. i. and vol. ii. p. 144. Another of theſe *Philoſophers* makes as good an uſe of his Indian Bracmanes and their *Vedam* and *Ezourvedam*, for this *Vedam* is their Bible, as the *Zend* or *Zendaveſta* is the Bible of the fire worſhipers in Perſia, and both of them apparent forgeries ſince the time of Mahomet to oppoſe to the Alcoran. Yet Mr. Voltaire ſays, of his Κειμήλιον, the *Ezourvedam*, that it is apparently older than the conqueſts of Alexander, becauſe the rivers, towns, and countries are called by their old names, before they were new chriſtened by the Greeks.—Cet ancien Commentaire du Vedam me parait ecrit avant les conquetes d' Alexandre, car on n'y trouve aucun des noms que le vainqueurs Grecs impoſerent aux fleuves, aux villes aux contrees. Additions a l' Hiſt.

"the practice of true piety towards him[l]." I ſaid, *in their public miniſtrations*, for we have ſeen it was taught in their *myſteries* to a few; and to their myſteries, it is remarkable, the learned Father alludes; who oppoſeth the caſe of the Hebrews, to the Pagans[m]; where a ſmall and ſelect number only was initiated into the knowledge of the Creator; but in Judea, a whole people.

II. That the Hebrews were as ſingular, in condemning all other religions of impoſture, as in

l' Hiſt. Generale, p. 23—4. Which is juſt as wiſe, as it would be to obſerve, that the Sarazin and Turkiſh annals were written before the conqueſts of Alexander, becauſe we find in them none of the names which the Greeks impoſed on the rivers, the cities, and the countries which they conquered in the Leſſer Aſia, but their ancient names, by which they were known from the earlieſt times. It never came into the Poet's head that the Indians and Arabians, might be exactly of the ſame humour, to reſtore the native names to the places from which the Greeks had driven them.

[l] — μόνῳ δὲ τῷ Ἑβραίων γένει τὴν, ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑΝ ἀναλαβεῖσθαι τῆς ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων ποιητῆ καὶ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ Θεῦ, καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀληθοῦς ἐυσεβείας. *Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. ix. p. 20. As the imaginary intereſt of religion engaged Dr. Prideaux to eſpouſe the *Perſian tale* of Zoroaſtres; ſo the ſame motive induced thoſe excellent perſons, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, and Newton, to take the affirmative in the general queſtion, whether the one true God had ever been publicly worſhiped out of Judea, between the introduction of general idolatry, and the birth of Chriſt. As this determination of the *general* queſtion is no leſs injurious to Revelation than the *particular* of Zoroaſtres, we may be aſſured no leſs advantage would be taken of it. Lord Bolingbroke ſaw to what uſe it might be applied, and has therefore inforced it to the diſcredit of Judaiſm; indeed, with his uſual addreſs, by entangling it in a contradiction. But thoſe other venerable names will make it neceſſary hereafter to examine both the one and the other queſtion at large.

[m] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 165. 4th edit.

publicly

publicly worſhiping one God, the Creator, hath been ſhewn in the former volume.

There is nothing more ſurpriſing in all Pagan Antiquity, than that, amidſt their endleſs Revelations, not one of them ſhould ever pretend to come from the FIRST CAUSE of all things; or ſhould condemn the reſt of falſhood: And yet there is nothing which modern writers are more accuſtomed to paſs over without reflection. But the ancient Fathers, who were more intimately acquainted with the ſtate of paganiſm, ſeem to have regarded it with the attention that ſo extraordinary a circumſtance deſerves: and I apprehend, it was no other than the difficulty of accounting for it, which made them recur ſo generally, as they do, to the agency of the DEVIL: for I muſt beg leave to aſſure certain modern rectifiers of prejudices, that the Fathers are not commonly led away by a vain ſuperſtition; as they affect to repreſent them: ſo that when theſe venerable writers unanimouſly concurred in thinking, *that the devil had a great ſhare in the introduction and ſupport of pagan revelations*, I imagine they were led to this concluſion from ſuch like conſiderations as theſe,——That had theſe impoſtures been the ſole agency of men, it is inconceivable that no one falſe prophet, no one ſpeculative philoſopher, of all thoſe who regulated ſtates, were well acquainted with the firſt Cauſe, and affected ſingularities and refinement, ſhould ever have pretended to receive his Revelations from the only true God; or have accuſed the reſt of falſhood: A thing ſo very natural for ſome or other of them to have done, were it but to advance their own religion, in point of truth or origine, above the reſt. On the contrary, ſo averſe were they to any thing of this management, that thoſe who pretended to inſpirations

ſpirations even from Jupiter, never conſidered him, as he was often conſidered by particulars, in the ſenſe of the Creator of all things; but as the local tutelar Jupiter, of Crete, for inſtance, or Libya. Again, thoſe who pretended to the beſt ſyſtem of religion, meant not the beſt ſimply; but the beſt for their own peculiar community[n]. This, if a ſupernatural agency be excluded, ſeemed utterly unaccountable. But admitting the Devil to his ſhare, a very good reaſon might be aſſigned: for it is certain, the ſuffering his agents to pretend inſpiration from the firſt Cauſe would have greatly endangered idolatry; and the ſuffering any of them to condemn the reſt of falſhood, would (by ſetting men upon enquiry and examination) have ſoon put a ſtop to the unbounded progreſs of it.

Thus, I ſuppoſe, the Fathers reaſoned: and I believe our Free-thinkers, with all their logic, would find it ſomewhat difficult to ſhew that they reaſoned ill.

But as we have made it our buſineſs, all along, to enquire into the natural cauſes of paganiſm, in all its amazing appearances, we ſhall go on, in the ſame way, to ſee what may be aſſigned for this moſt amazing of all.

1. Firſt then, the false prophet and politician, who formerly cheated under one and the ſame perſon[o], found it neceſſary, in his character of Prophet, to pretend inſpiration from the God moſt reverenced by the people; and this God was generally one of their dead anceſtors, or citizens, whoſe ſervices to the community had procured

[n] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. b. ii. ſect. 6. [o] Ibid. p. 104.

him

him divine honours [p]; and who was, of courſe, a local tutelary Deity. In his character of Politician, he thought it of importance to have the national worſhip paid to the Founder of the Society, or to the father of the Tribe: for a God, who had them in peculiar, ſuited the groſs conceptions of the people much better then a common Deity at large. But this practice gave birth to two principles, which prevented any opening for a pretended intercourſe with the one God, the Creator. 1. The firſt was, an opinion of their DIVINES, that the ſupreme God did not immediately concern himſelf with the government of the world, but left it to local tutelary deities, his vicegerents [q]. 2. The ſecond, an opinion of their LAWGIVERS, that it would be of fatal conſequence to Society to diſcover the firſt Cauſe of all things to the people [r].

2. But ſecondly, that which one would imagine ſhould have brought the one God, the Creator, to the knowledge of the world, in ſome public Inſtitution of religion, namely his being taught to ſo many in the Myſteries, and particularly to all who pretended to *revelation* and *lawgiving* [s], was the very thing that kept him unknown; becauſe all who came to the knowledge of him this way, had it communicated to them under the moſt religious ſeal of ſecrecy.

3. Now, while the firſt Cauſe of all things was rejected or unknown, and nothing profeſſed in the public worſhip but local tutelary Deities, each of which had his own appointment, and little concerned himſelf in that of another's, no one re-

[p] *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 95. [q] Ibid. vol. i. [r] Book ii. ſect. 4. [s] Ibid.

ligion

ligion could accuſe the other of falſhood, becauſe they all ſtood upon the ſame foundation.

How far this may account, in a natural way, for the matter in queſtion, is ſubmitted to the judgment of the learned.

Here then we reſt. An eſſential difference between the Jewish and all other religions is now found: the very mark we wanted to diſcriminate the true from the falſe.

As for any marks of reſemblance in matters circumſtantial, this will give us no manner of concern. The ſhame of this allegation muſt lie with the Deiſt, who can, in conſcience, bring it into account, for the equal falſhood of them both; ſeeing, were the jewiſh (as we pretend) true, and the pagan falſe, that very reſemblance muſt ſtill remain. For what, I pray, is a falſe religion, but the counterfeit of a true? And what is it to counterfeit, but to aſſume the likeneſs of the thing uſurped? In good earneſt, an Impoſtor, without one ſingle feature of truth, would be a rarity even amongſt monſters.

SECT. II.

BUT the buſineſs of this work is not probability but demonstration. This, therefore, only by the way, and to lead us the more eaſily into the main road of our enquiry: for the reader now ſees we are purſuing no deſperate adventure, while we endeavour to deduce the divinity of Moses's Law, from the circumſtances of the Law itſelf.

I go

I go on with my propoſed demonſtration.

Having proved in the foregoing volume the firſt and ſecond propoſitions——*That the inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is neceſſary to the well-being of civil Society*;—— and, *That all mankind, eſpecially the moſt wiſe and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of ſuch uſe to civil Society*:——I come, in this, to the third,

THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Now as, in ſupport of the two firſt Propoſitions, I was forced to make my way thro' the long chicane of Atheiſm and Free-thinking; ſo in defence of the third, I ſhall have the much harder fortune of finding Adverſaries in the quarter of our Friends: for it hath happened unluckily, that miſtaken conceptions of the JEWISH and of the CHRISTIAN Diſpenſations, have made ſome advocates of Revelation always unwilling to confeſs the truth which I here endeavour to eſtabliſh; and a late revived deſpicable whimſy concerning the ſadduciſm of the Hebrews, hath now violently inclined them to oppoſe it.

A man leſs fond of TRUTH, and equally attached to RELIGION, would have here ſtopt ſhort, and ventured no further in a road where he muſt ſo frequently ſuffer the diſpleaſure of forſaking thoſe he moſt agrees with; and the much greater mortification of appearing to go along with thoſe he moſt

moſt differs from. I have often aſked myſelf, What I had to do, to invent new arguments for Religion, when the old ones had outlived ſo many generations of this mortal race of infidels and free-thinkers? Why I did not rather chuſe the high road of literary honours, and pick out ſome poor critic or ſmall philoſopher of this ſchool, to offer up at the ſhrine of violated ſenſe and virtue? Things that might be expoſed to their deſerved contempt on any principles; or indeed without any: I might then have flouriſhed in the favour of my ſuperiors, and the good-will of all my brethren. But the love of TRUTH breaks all my meaſures: *Imperioſa trahit veritas*; and I am once more borne away in the deep and troubled torrent of Antiquity.

Theſe various prejudices abovementioned oblige me therefore to prove the third Propoſition, in the ſame circumſtantial manner I proved the firſt and ſecond: and this will require a previous explanation of the MOSAIC POLICY.

But to form a right idea of that Inſtitution, it will be neceſſary to know the genius and manners of the HEBREW PEOPLE; tho' it be, as we conceive, of divine appointment: and ſtill more neceſſary to underſtand the character and abilities of their LAW-GIVER, if it be, as our adverſaries pretend, only of human.

Now as the Hebrews, on receiving their LAW, were but juſt come from a ſtrange country, the land of EGYPT; where the people had been held in ſlavery and oppreſſion; and their Leader bred at court, and inſtructed in all the learning of their colleges; it could not but be, that the genius and manners

manners of both would receive a high tincture from thoſe with whom they had ſo long, and in ſuch different ſtations, converſed: And in fact, holy Scripture aſſures us, that MOSES was *converſant in all the wiſdom*, and the ISRAELITES beſotted *with all the whoredoms or idolatries, of Egypt.*

It will be of importance therefore to know the ſtate of SUPERSTITION and LEARNING in Egypt during theſe early ages.

This, as it is a neceſſary, ſo one would think, ſhould be no difficult enquiry; for it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the ſame Scripture which tells us, that the Lawgiver and his people brought their wiſdom and ſuperſtitions from Egypt, would tell us alſo what that wiſdom and what thoſe ſuperſtitions were. And ſo indeed it does; as will be ſeen in due time: Yet, by ill fortune, the fact ſtands, at preſent, ſo precarious, as to need much pains, and many words to make it owned. Divines, it is confeſſed, ſeem to allow the teſtimony of Stephen and Ezekiel, who under the very impulſe of inſpiration, ſay *that* MOSES *was learned in all the wiſdom, and the people devoted to all the ſuperſtitions of Egypt*; yet, when they come to explain that learning, they make it to conſiſt in ſuch fopperies, as a wiſe and honeſt man, like MOSES, would never practiſe: when they come to particularize thoſe ſuperſtitions, they will not allow even the *Golden Calf*, the ὁ ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ἔστω ὁ ΑΠΙΣ καλεόμενος[1], to be of their number. For by an odd chance, tho' not uncommon in blind ſcuffles, the infidels and we have chang'd weapons: Our enemies attack us with the Bible, to prove the Egyptians very learned and very ſuper-

[1] Herod. l. iii. c. 28.

ſtitious in the time of Moſes; and we defend ourſelves with the *new Chronology* of Sir Iſaac Newton, to prove them very barbarous and very innocent.

Would the reader know how this came about; it was in this wiſe: The infidels had obſerved, (as who that ever looked into ſacred and profane Antiquity hath not?) that in the jewiſh Law there were many ordinances reſpective of the inſtitutions of Egypt. This circumſtance they ſeized; and, according to their cuſtom, envenomed; by drawing from thence a concluſion againſt *the Divine Legation of Moſes*. The defenders of Revelation, ſurprized with the novelty of the argument, did that, in a fright and in exceſs of caution, which one may obſerve unprepared diſputants generally do, to ſupport their opinions; that is, they choſe rather to deny the PREMISSES than the CONCLUSION. For ſuch, not knowing to what their adverſary's principles may lead, think it a point of prudence to ſtop him in his firſt advance: whereas the ſkilful diſputant well knows, that he never has his enemy at more advantage, than when, by allowing the premiſſes, he ſhews him arguing wrong from his own principles; for the queſtion being then to be decided by the certain rules of logic, his confutation expoſes the weakneſs of the advocate as well as of the cauſe. When this is over, he may turn with a good grace upon the premiſſes; to expoſe them, if falſe; to rectify them, if miſrepreſented; or to employ them in the ſervice of Religion, if truely and faithfully delivered: and this ſervice they will never refuſe him; as I ſhall ſhew in the previous queſtion of *the high antiquity of Egypt*, and in the main queſtion of *the omiſſion of a future ſtate in the inſtitution of the Hebrews*.

And

And I am well perſuaded that, had thoſe excellent advocates of Religion (whoſe labours have ſet the truth in a light not to be reſiſted) but duly weighed the character of thoſe with whom they had to do, they would have been leſs ſtartled at any conſequences the power of their logic could have deduced. The Tolands, the Blounts, the Tindals, are, in truth, of a temper and complexion, in which one finds more of that quality which ſubjects men to draw wrong Concluſions, than of that which enables them to invent falſe Principles.

The excellent SPENCER, indeed, endeavoured to diſſipate this panic, by ſhewing theſe premiſſes to be the true key to the REASON OF THE LAW; for the want of a *ſufficient reaſon* in the ceremonial and poſitive part of it, was the greateſt objection, which thinking men had, to the divinity of its original.

But all this did not yet reconcile men to thoſe premiſſes. It would ſeem as if they had another quarrel with them, beſides the poor unlearned fear of their leading to the infidel's concluſion; namely, for their being an adverſary's principle ſimply; and, on that ſcore alone to be diſputed. This is a perverſe, tho' common prejudice, which infects our whole communication; and hath hurt unity in the church, and humanity in civil life, as well as peace in the ſchools. For who knows not that the ſame impotent averſion to things abuſed by an enemy, hath made one ſort of ſectaries divide from the national church, and another reprobate the moſt indifferent manners of their country*?

* Puritans, Quakers, &c.

And it is to be obſerved, that till that unlucky time when the infidels firſt blundered upon truth, this principle met with a very general reception: the ancient Fathers, and modern Divines of all denominations concurring in their uſe of it, to illuſtrate the wiſdom of God's Laws, and the truth of his Son's interpretation of them, where he aſſureth us that they were given to the Hebrews *for the hardneſs of their hearts*; no ſort of men ſticking out, but a few viſionary Jews, who, beſotted with the nonſenſe of their cabbala, obſtinately ſhut their eyes againſt all the light which the excellent Maimonides had firſt poured into this palpable obſcure.

Not that I would be underſtood as admitting the premiſſes in the latitude in which our adverſaries deliver them;

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The human mind, miſerably weak and inſtable, and diſtracted with a great variety of objects, is naturally inclined to repoſe itſelf in system; nothing being more uneaſy to us than a ſtate of doubt; or a view too large for our comprehenſion. Hence we ſee, that, of every imaginary fact, ſome or other have made an hypotheſis; of every cloud, a caſtle: And the common vice of theſe caſtle-builders is to draw every thing within its precincts, which they fancy may contribute to its defence or embelliſhment. We have given an inſtance, in the former volume[x], of the folly of thoſe who have run into the contrary extreme, and are for deriving all arts, laws and religions

[x] Vol. i. part 2d. page 133.

from

from the People of God: an extravagance at length come to ſuch a height, that, if you will believe certain writers[y], the poor heathen had neither the grace to kneel to prayers, nor the wit to put their Gods under cover, till the Iſraelites taught them the way. But our wiſe adverſaries are even with them; and will bate no believer an inch, in driving on an hypotheſis: for had not the Egyptians, by great good luck, as they give us to underſtand[z], enjoined *honour to parents*, and *reſtrained theft, by puniſhment*, the Jews had been in a ſad blind condition when they came to take poſſeſſion of the promiſed land. Are theſe men more ſober in their accounts of the religious Inſtitutions of the Hebrews? I think not; when they pretend to prove *circumciſion* of egyptian original from the teſtimony of late writers, who neither ſpeak to the point, nor in this point are in reaſon to be regarded, if they did[a].

But

[y] See Shuckford's *Sacred and profane hiſtory of the world connected*, vol. ii. edit. 2d. p. 317—327.— Our countryman Gale, in the like manner, is for deriving all arts and ſciences, without exception, from the Jews.—"*Arithmetic*, he ſays, it is "evident had its foundation from God himſelf; for the firſt "computation of time is made by God, GEN. i. 5, &c. And "as for *navigation*, tho' ſome aſcribe it to the Phenicians; yet "it is manifeſt the firſt idea thereof was taken from Noah's ark. "It is as plain that *geography* traduced its firſt lines from the "moſaic deſcription of the ſeveral plantations of Noah's poſ-"terity."—*Court of the Gentiles*, part i. p. 18. Who would not think but the learned man, and learned he really was in good truth, was diſpoſed to banter us, had he not given ſo ſad a proof of his being in earneſt as the writing three bulky volumes to ſupport theſe wonderful diſcoveries?

[z] See Marſham's *Canon Chron. ed. Franeq.* p. 177, 188.

[a] See *Canon Chron. Secul.* v. *tit.* Circumciſio. I decline entering into this controverſy for two reaſons: 1. Becauſe

But why all this ſtrife for or againſt the one or other hypotheſis? for aſſuredly it would no more follow,

which way ſoever the queſtion be decided, the truth of the moſaic account will be nothing affected by it; for the Scripture no where ſays, that Abraham was the firſt man, circumciſed; nor is the prior uſe of this rite amongſt men, any argument againſt God's enjoining him to obſerve it. The pious biſhop Cumberland little thought he was diſſerving religion, when he followed an interpretation of the fragment of Sanchoniatho, which led him to conclude [*Remarks on* Sanchon.'s *Phœn. Hiſt.* p. 150.] that whole nations had practiſed circumciſion before Abraham: but I quote this great man not for the weight of his opinion in a matter ſo unconcerning, but as an example of that candour of mind and integrity of heart, without which the purſuit of truth is a vainer employment than the purſuit of butterflies. A leſs able and a leſs ingenuous man, with not a tenth part of this noble writer's invention, would have had a thouſand tricks and fetches to reconcile the firſt inſtitution of this rite in Abraham, to the high antiquity he had given to Cronus. Another example of a contrary conduct, in a writer of equal account, will ſhew us how much this ingenuity is to be eſteemed in men of learning. The excellent Dr. Hammond, miſled by the party-prejudices of his time, had perſuaded himſelf to believe, that the propheſies of the Apocalypſe related only to the firſt ages of the chriſtian church; and that the book was written not, as Irenæus ſuppoſed, about the end of Domitian's reign, but, as Epiphanius affirmed, in Claudius Cæſar's. To this, there were two objections; Firſt, that then the propheſy, which, on Hammond's ſyſtem, related to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, would be of an event paſt: while the propheſy ſpeaks of it as a thing future. To this he replies, That it was *cuſtomary with the Prophets to ſpeak of things paſt as of things to come.* So far was well. But then the ſecond objection is, That if this were the time of writing the Revelations, Antipas, who is ſaid, c. ii. ver. 13. to have been martyred, was yet alive. No matter for that, it was *cuſtomary with the Prophets*, as he tells us on the other hand, *to ſpeak of things to come as of things paſt.* And all this within the compaſs of two pages. 2. The other reaſon for my not entering into this matter is, becauſe it is not my intention to examine (except occaſionally) any particular queſtion of this kind. This hath been done already. What I propoſe is to prove in general, that many of the poſitive inſtitutions of the Hebrews were enjoined in oppoſition to the idolatrous cuſtoms of the Egyptians; and that ſome bearing a conformity to thoſe cuſtoms,

follow, from this of our adverſaries, that the jewiſh Religion was falſe, than from a lately revived one of our friends, which ſuppoſes all the Gods of Egypt to have come out of Abraham's family [b], that the egyptian was true.

It muſt indeed be of uſe to true religion, where or whatever it be, to trace up things to their original: and for that reaſon alone, without any views to party, I ſhall endeavour to prove the four following propoſitions.

1. That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian ſuperſtition there condemned, were the very learning and ſuperſtition repreſented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that Kingdom.

2. That the jewiſh people were extremely fond of egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into egyptian ſuperſtitions: and that many of the laws given to them by the miniſtry of Moſes, were inſtituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to thoſe ſuperſtitions.

3. That Moſes's egyptian learning, and the laws he inſtituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in oppoſition to egyptian ſuperſtitions, are no reaſonable objection to the divinity of his miſſion. And,

cuſtoms, and not liable to be abuſed to ſuperſtition, were indulged to them, in wiſe compliance with the prejudices which long uſe and habit are accuſtomed to induce.

[b] *Voyez Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires des Anciens Peuples.*

4. That thoſe very circumſtances are a ſtrong confirmation of the truth of his pretenſions.

The enquiry, into which the proof of theſe points will lead us, is, as we ſaid, very neceſſary to the gaining a true idea of the nature of the jewiſh Diſpenſation: as that idea will enable the reader to form a right judgment of the force of thoſe arguments I am preparing for the ſupport of my THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the doctrine of a future ſtate is not to be found in, nor did make part of the jewiſh Diſpenſation.* But the enquiry has ſtill a further uſe. I ſhall employ the reſult of it to *ſtrengthen* that general concluſion, THAT MOSES HAD REALLY A DIVINE MISSION, which I have promiſed to deduce thro' the medium of this third propoſition: ſo that the reader muſt not think me in the humour to trifle with him, if this enquiry ſhould prove longer than he expected.

And here, on the entrance, it will be no improper place to explain my meaning, when, in my firſt ſetting out, I promiſed to demonſtrate the truth of the jewiſh revelation, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A RELIGIOUS DEIST. Had I meant no more by this, than that I would argue with him on common principles, I had only inſulted the reader's underſtanding by an affected expreſſion, while I pretended to make that peculiar to my defence, which is, or ought to be, a circumſtance common to all: or had I meant ſo much by it, as to imply, that I would argue with the deiſt on his own falſe principles, I had then unreaſonably beſpoke the reader's long attention to a mere argument *ad hominem*, which, at beſt, had only proved the free-thinker a bad reaſoner; and who wants to be convinced of that? but my point was not ſo much

to

to ſhew that the Infidel was in the wrong, as that the Believer was in the right: the only remaining ſenſe then of the deiſt's own principles is this, Thoſe true principles of his, which becauſe they are generally held by the enemies of Religion, and almoſt as generally rejected by the friends of it, have got the title of *deiſtical principles*. Such, for inſtance, as this I am going upon, *the high antiquity of the egyptian wiſdom*; and ſuch as that, for the ſake of which I go upon it, *the omiſſion of the doctrine of a future ſtate in the moſaic diſpenſation*. And theſe are the principles by which I promiſe, in good time, to overturn all his concluſions.

SECT. III.

THE firſt propoſition is,—*That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the egyptian ſuperſtition there condemned, were the very learning and ſuperſtition repreſented by the Greek writers as the honour and opprobrium of that kingdom.*

To prove this, I ſhall in the firſt place ſhew (both by external and internal evidence) the juſt pretenſions which Egypt had to a ſuperior antiquity: and then examine the new hypotheſis of Sir ISAAC NEWTON againſt that antiquity.

It is confeſſed on all hands, that the greek writers concur in repreſenting Egypt as one of the moſt ancient and powerful monarchies in the world. In ſupport of what they deliver, we may obſerve, that they have given a very particular account of the civil and religious cuſtoms in uſe from the moſt early times of memory: cuſtoms of ſuch a kind, as ſhew the followers of them

them to have been moſt polite and powerful.— Thus ſtands the grecian evidence.

But to this it may be replied, that the Greeks are, in all reſpects, incompetent witneſſes, and carry with them ſuch imperfections as are ſufficient to diſcredit any evidence; being, indeed, very *ignorant*, and very *prejudiced*. As this made them liable to impoſition; ſo falling, as we ſhall ſee, into ill hands, they actually were impoſed on.

Their *ignorance* may be fairly collected from their age; and from the authors of their intelligence. They all lived long after the times in queſtion; and, tho' they received indeed their information from Egypt itſelf; yet for the moſt part, it was not till after the entire deſtruction of that ancient empire, and when it was now become a province, in ſucceſſion, to aſiatic and european conquerors: when their ancient and public records were deſtroyed; and their very learning and genius changed to a conformity with their grecian maſters: who would needs, at this time of day, ſeek wiſdom from Egypt, which could but furniſh them with their own; tho', becauſe they would have it ſo, diſguiſed under the ſtately obſcurity of an eaſtern cover [c].

Nor were their *prejudices* leſs notorious. They thought themſelves Autocthones, the original inhabitants of the earth, and indebted to none for their advantages. But when knowledge and acquaintance with foreign nations had convinced them of their miſtake; and that, ſo far

[c] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. book iii. ſect. 4

from

from owing nothing to others, they owed almoſt every thing to Egypt; their writers, ſtill true to their natural vanity, now gave the poſt of honour to theſe, which they could no longer keep to themſelves; and complimented their new inſtructors with the moſt extravagant antiquity. What the Greeks conceived out of vain-glory, the Egyptians cheriſhed to promote a trade. This country was long the mart of knowledge for the eaſtern and weſtern world: and as nothing ſo much recommends this kind of commodity as its age, they ſet it off by forged records, which extended their hiſtory to a moſt unreaſonable length of time: accounts of theſe have been conveyed to us by ancient authors, and fully confuted by the modern. Thus ſtands the objection to the grecian evidence. And, though I have no buſineſs to determine in this queſtion, as the uſe I make of the greek authority is not at all affected by it; yet I muſt needs confeſs that, were there no writings of higher antiquity to confirm the grecian, their teſtimony would be very doubtful: but could writings of much higher antiquity be found to contradict it, they would deſerve to have no credit at all.

Whatever therefore they ſay of the high antiquity of Egypt, unſupported by the reaſon of the thing, or the teſtimony of holy Scripture, ſhall never be employed in this enquiry: but whatever Reaſon and Scripture ſeem to contradict, whether it ſerve the one or other purpoſe, I ſhall always totally reject.

The unanimous agreement of the greek writers in repreſenting Egypt as the moſt ancient and beſt policied empire in the world, is, as we ſay, generally known and acknowledged.

I. Let us ſee then, in the firſt place, what REASON ſays concerning this matter.

There is, if I be not much miſtaken, one circumſtance in the ſituation of Egypt, which ſeems to aſſert its claim to a priority amongſt the civilized Nations; and conſequently to it's elderſhip in Arts and Arms.

There is no ſoil on the face of the globe ſo fertile but what, in a little time, becomes naturally effete by paſturage and tillage. This, in the early ages of the world, forced the unſettled tribes of men to be perpetually ſhifting their abode. For the world lying all before them, they ſaw a ſpeedier and eaſier relief in removing to freſh ground, than in turning their thoughts to the recovery [a] of the fertility of that already ſpent by occupation: for it is neceſſity alone, to which we are indebted for all the artificial methods of ſupplying our wants.

Now the plain of Egypt having it's fertility annually reſtored by the periodic overflowings of the Nile, they, whom chance or choice had once directed to ſit down upon it's banks, had never after an occaſion to remove their tents. And when men have been ſo long ſettled in a place, that the majority of the inhabitants are become natives of

[a] The recovery of exhauſted fertility by compoſt, ſeems not to have been a very early invention. For tho' Homer deſcribes Laertes in his rural occupations as buſied in this part of agriculture; yet Heſiod, in a profeſſed and detailed poem on the ſubject, never once mentions the method of dunging land.--- Not that I regard this circumſtance as any ſure proof to determine the queſtion of Heſiod's priority in point of time. It may be well accounted for, by ſuppoſing, that they deſcribed particular places in the ſtate they were then found, ſome more and ſome leſs advanced in the arts of civil life.

the

the ſoil, the inborn love of a Country has, by that time, ſtruck ſuch deep roots into it, that nothing but extreme violence can draw them out. Hence, civil policy ariſes; which, while the unſettled tribes of mankind keep ſhifting from place to place, remains ſtifled in its ſeeds.

This, I apprehend, if rightly conſidered, will induce us to conclude, that Egypt was very likely to have been one of the firſt civilized countries on the globe.

II. Let us ſee next what SCRIPTURE has recorded in ſupport of the ſame truth.

1. So early as the time of Abraham we find a king in Egypt of the common name of Pharaoh[e]: which would induce one to believe, that the civil policy was much the ſame as in the times of Joſeph and Moſes: and how perfect it then was, will be ſeen preſently. This kingdom is repreſented as abounding in corn, and capable of relieving others in a time of famine[f]: which no kingdom can do, where agriculture has not been improved by art, and regulated by a civil policy. We ſee the ſplendor of a luxurious court, in the princes who reſided in the monarch's houſhold: amongſt whom, we find ſome (as the moſt thriving trade for royal favour) to have been procurers to his pleaſures[g]: nor were the preſents made by Pharaoh to Abraham, at all unworthy of a great king[h]. An adventure of the ſame ſort as this of Abraham's

[e] GENESIS xii. 15. [f] ver. 10.

[g] *The princes alſo of Pharaoh ſaw her, and* COMMENDED HER BEFORE PHARAOH: *and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's houſe.* GEN. xii. 15. [h] ver. 16.

with

with Pharaoh, happened to his ſon Iſaac with Abimelech; which will inſtruct us in the difference between an Egyptian monarch, and a petty roitolet of the Philiſtines. Abimelech is deſcribed as little different from a ſimple particular [i], without his guards, or great princes; ſo jealous and afraid of Iſaac's growing power, that he obliged him to depart out of his dominions [k]; and, not ſatisfied with that, went afterwards to beg a peace of him, and would ſwear him to the obſervance of it [l].

2. The caravan of iſhmaelite merchants, going from Gilead to Egypt [m], brings us to the ſecond ſcripture-period of this ancient monarchy. And here their camel-loads of ſpicery, balm, and myrrh, and their traffic in young ſlaves [n], commodities only for a rich and luxurious people, ſufficiently declare the eſtabliſhed power and wealth of Egypt. We find a captain of Pharaoh's guard; a chief butler, and a baker [o]. We ſee in the veſtures of fine linen, in the gold chains, and ſtate-chariots given to Joſeph [p], all the marks of luxury and politeneſs: and in the cities for laying up of ſtores and proviſions [q], the effects of wiſe government and opulence. Nor is the policy of a diſtinct PRIESTHOOD, which is ſo circumſtantially deſcribed in the hiſtory of this period, one of the leaſt marks of the high antiquity of this flouriſhing kingdom. It is agreed, on all hands, that there was ſuch an Inſtitution in Egypt, long before it was known in any other parts of the Eaſt. And if what Diodorus Siculus intimates to be the original of a diſtinct prieſthood, be true, namely the growing

[i] GEN. chap. xxvi. 7, 8. [k] ver. 16. [l] ver. 26, & ſeq. [m] Chap. xxxvii. 25. [n] Chap. xxxvii. ver. 28. [o] Chap. xxxix, xl. [p] Chap. xli. ver. 42, 43. [q] Chap. xli.

multitude

multitude of religious rites, we ſee the whole force of this obſervation. For multiplicity of religious rites is generally in proportion to the advances in civil life.

3. The redemption of the Hebrews from their ſlavery is the third period of the egyptian monarchy, recorded in Scripture. Here, the building of treaſure cities[r], and the continual employment of ſo vaſt a multitude, in only preparing materials[s] for public edifices, ſhew the vaſt power and luxury of the State. Here too, we find a fixed and ſtanding militia[t] of chariots; and, what is more extraordinary, of cavalry[u]: in which kind of military addreſs the Greeks were unſkilled till long after the times of the trojan war. And indeed, if we may believe St. Paul, this kingdom was choſen by God to be the ſcene of all his wonders, in ſupport of his elect people, for this very reaſon, that through the celebrity of ſo famed an empire, the power of the true God might be ſpread abroad, and ſtrike the obſervation of the whole habitable world.—*For the Scripture ſaith unto Pharaoh, Even for this ſame purpoſe have I raiſed thee up, that I might ſhew my power in thee; and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth*[x].

To this let me add, that Scripture every where, throughout theſe three periods, repreſents Egypt as an entire kingdom under one monarch[y]; which is a certain mark of great advances in civil policy and power: all countries, on their firſt egreſſion out of barbarity, being divided into many little States and principalities; which, as thoſe arts improved,

[r] EXOD. i. 11. [s] Chap. v. ver. 14. [t] Chap. xiv. ver. 7. [u] ver. 9. [x] ROM. ix. 7. [y] See GEN. xli. 41, 43, 45, 46, 55. xlvii. 20. & EXOD. *paſſim.*

were

were naturally brought, either by power or policy, to unite and coaleſce.

But here let me obſerve, ſuch is the ceaſeleſs revolution of human affairs, that that power which reduced Egypt into a monarchy, was the very thing which, when it came to it's height, occaſioned it's falling back again under it's *Reguli*. Seſoſtris, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, divided the lower Egypt to his ſoldiery, by a kind of feudal Law, into large patrimonial tenures. The ſucceſſors of this militia, as Marſham reaſonably conjectures [z], growing powerful and factious, ſet up, each leader for himſelf, in his own patrimonial Nome. The powerful empire of the Franks, here in the Weſt, from the ſame cauſes underwent the ſame fate, from the debility of which it did not recover till theſe latter ages.

Thus invincibly do the Hebrew records [a] ſupport the Grecian evidence for the high antiquity of Egypt. And it is further remarkable, that the later inſpired writers of the ſacred canon confirm this concurrent teſtimony, in the conſtant attributes of *antiquity* and *wiſdom*, which, upon all occaſions, they beſtow upon the egyptian nation. Thus the prophet Iſaiah, in denouncing God's judgments againſt this people:—"Surely the princes "of Zoan are fools, the counſel of the WISE coun-"ſellors of Pharaoh is become brutiſh: How ſay

[z] *Can. Chron.* p. 446.

[a] Here let me obſerve, that this repreſentation of the high and flouriſhing ſtate of Egypt, in theſe early times, greatly recommends the truth of the Samaritan chronology, and ſhews how much it is to be preferred to the Hebrew. See the learned and judicious M. LEONARD in his *obſervations ſur l' antiquité des hieroglyphes ſcientifiques*, p. 339. 2d vol.

" ye unto Pharaoh, I am the ſon of the WISE, the " ſon of ANCIENT KINGS? Where are they? where " are thy WISE MEN? and let them tell thee now, " and let them know what the Lord of hoſts hath " purpoſed upon Egypt[b]."

But the greek writers do not content themſelves to tell us, in a vague and general manner, of the high antiquity and power of Egypt, which in that caſe was little to be regarded; but they ſupport the fact, of which their books are ſo full, by a minute and circumſtantial account of INSTITUTIONS, civil and religious, ſaid to be obſerved by that people from the moſt early times, which, in their very nature, ſpeak a great and powerful people; and belong only to ſuch as are ſo. Now this account ſacred Scripture remarkably confirms and verifies.

[b] ISAIAH xix. 11, 12.—The various diſaſters to which determined diſputants are obnoxious from their own proper tempers, would make no unentertaining part of literary hiſtory. A learned writer undertaking to confute the egyptian pretenſions to their high antiquity, thinks it proper firſt to ſhew, that they did indeed pretend to it. And this, it muſt be owned, he does effectually enough. His words are theſe. " Et profecto, ab AN- " TIQUISSIMIS TEMPORIBUS hâc vanitate infecti erant: dicebat " enim, ipſo Iſaiæ tempore, purpuratorum quiſque Pharaoni ſe " eſſe *filium regum* antiquiſſimorum." — *Spicilegia antiq. Egypt. &c. autore Gul. Jameſon.* Now, could any thing be more unlucky? The author only meant to introduce his ſyſtem by this flouriſh; and in introducing it, he confutes it. For can there be a better evidence of the high antiquity of any people than that they claimed it from the *moſt ancient times?* from times long preceding that general vanity of a high antiquity, which had infected the nations, and prompted them to ſupport their claims againſt one another, by forged evidence and unphiloſophic reaſoning? Not to ſay, that this high antiquity is acknowledged by the Prophet alſo; the force of whoſe exultation depends on the truth of it. For what reaſon was there to inſiſt ſo much on the power and wiſdom of God in *deſtroying the counſel of Egypt*, if *Pharaoh and his Counſellors*, only pretended to be, but were not, *wiſe*; nor yet, *the ſons of ancient kings?*

I. The PRIESTHOOD being the primum mobile of the Egyptian policy, we ſhall begin with that. Diodorus Siculus thus deſcribes its ſtate and eſtabliſhment: —— "The whole country being "divided into three parts; the firſt belongs to "the body of Prieſts; an order in the higheſt "reverence amongſt their countrymen, for their "piety to the Gods, and their conſummate wiſ- "dom, acquired by the beſt education, and the "cloſeſt application to the improvement of the "mind. With their revenues they ſupply all "Egypt with public ſacrifices; they ſupport a "number of inferior officers, and maintain their "own families: for the Egyptians think it utterly "unlawful to make any change in their public "worſhip; but hold that every thing ſhould be "adminiſter'd by their prieſts, in the ſame con- "ſtant invariable manner. Nor do they deem it "at all fitting that thoſe, to whoſe cares the pub- "lic is ſo much indebted, ſhould want the com- "mon neceſſaries of life: for the prieſts are con- "ſtantly attached to the perſon of the King, as "his coadjutors, counſellors, and inſtructors, in "the moſt weighty matters.——For it is not "amongſt them as with the Greeks, where one "ſingle man or woman exerciſes the office of "the prieſthood. Here a Body or Society is em- "ployed, in ſacrificing and other rites of public "worſhip; who tranſmit their profeſſion to their "children. This Order, likewiſe, is exempt from "all charges and impoſts, and holds the ſecond "honours, under the King, in the public admini- "ſtration [c]."

Of

[c] Τῆς δὲ χώρας ἁπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη διῃρημένης, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, μεγίστης εὐδοκιμοῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, διά τε τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὴν σύνεσιν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐκ παιδείας εἰσφέρεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τάς τε θυσίας ἁπάσας τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον συντελοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας

Of all the colleges of the prieſthood, Herodotus tells us, that of HELIOPOLIS was moſt famed for wiſdom and learning [d]: and Strabo ſays that, in his time, very ſpacious buildings yet remained in that place; where, as the report ran, was formerly the chief reſidence of the Prieſts, who cultivated the ſtudies of philoſophy and aſtronomy [e].

Thus theſe three celebrated hiſtorians; whoſe account, in every particular, is fully confirmed by MOSES; who tells us, that the Egyptian Prieſts were a diſtinct order in the ſtate, and had an eſtabliſhed landed revenue; that when the famine raged ſo ſeverely that the people were compelled to ſell their lands to the crown, for bread, the Prieſts ſtill kept theirs, unalienated, and were ſupplied gratis [f]. Diodorus's account, which gives us the reaſon of this indulgence, confirms the ſcripture-hiſtory, and is fully ſupported by it: for

ὑπηρέτας τρέφουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν· ὅτε γὰρ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ᾠοῦτο δεῖν ἀλλάττειν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ παραπλησίως συνηλεῖσθαι· ὅτε τὰς παῖδας προβουλευομένους, ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὅτοι προβουλευόμενοι συνδιαλαμβάνουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοὶ τῶν δὲ ἐισηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι· —ὑ γὰρ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἷς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς διατρίβουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν ὁμοίαν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν παραδιδόασιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὅτοι παίδων τε ἀτιλεῖς, καὶ δευτερεύοντες μέλει τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς τε δόξαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. *Bibl. Hiſt.* p. 46. *Steph.* ed.

[d] Οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. lib. ii. c. 3.

[e] Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ οἴκους εἶδομεν μεγάλους, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γενέσθαι φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν. *Geogr.* l. xvii.

[f] *Only the land of the prieſts bought he not: for the prieſts had a portion aſſigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they ſold not their lands.* GEN. xlvii. 22.

there we ſee, not only the reverence in which the Order was held, but the publick uſes of religion, to which two thirds of their revenues were applied, kept Pharaoh from attempting on their property. Again, Moses ſupports what Diodorus ſays of the public and high employment of the Prieſts, (who were privy counſellors and miniſters of ſtate) where ſpeaking of the prieſt of On [g], he calls him *Chohen*, which, as J. Cocceius ſhews in his lexcion [h], ſignifies as well the friend and privy counſellor of the King, as a Prieſt; and accordingly, the *Chald. Paraphr.* calls him *Princeps On.* The word often occurs; and, I imagine, was borrowed from the egyptian language; the Hebrews having no order of prieſthood before that inſtituted by Moses. This further appears from the name Coes [i], given to the prieſts of the *ſamothracian Myſteries*, plainly a corruption of Coen or Chohen. The Myſteries in general, we have ſhewn [k], were derived from Egypt, and particularly thoſe of Ceres or Iſis, at Eleuſis: Now, in Samothrace, the Myſteries were of Ceres and Proſerpine, as at Eleuſis [l]. Laſtly,

[g] Gen. chap. xlvi. ver. 20.

[h] *Chohen*, proprie & ex vi vocis, *qui accedit* ad Regem, & eum, qui ſummus eſt. Ideo explicationis ergò adjungitur tanquam etymologiæ evolutio, Exod. xix. 22. "Sacerdotes *qui* "*accedunt* ad Jehovam."—Non. quod vox *Chohen* notet *primatum*, ut vult Kimchius, ſed quod notet *primos accedentium*—Certe in Ægypto fuerunt tales, & his alimonia a rege debebatur.

[i] Κοῆς, ἱερεὺς Καβείρων. *Heſych.* [k] *Div. Leg.* lib. ii. ſect. 4.

[l] Μυεῖσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ τοὺς Καβείρους, ὧν Μνασίας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τέσσαρες δ' εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἄξιερος, Ἀξιόκερσα, Ἄξιόκερσος. Ἄξιερος μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Δημήτηρ· Ἀξιόκερσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη· Ἀξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἅιδης· ὁ δὲ προσιθέμενος τέταρτος Κασμίλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος. *Schol. in Apoll. Argon.* l. 1. ver. 917.

Moses

MOSES confirms Herodotus's and Strabo's account of the ſuperior learning and dignity of the heliopolitan college. When Joſeph was exalted to the prime miniſtry, he tells us, that Pharaoh married him to a daughter of the prieſt of ON [m]; which the ſeptuagint and vulgar latin rightly interpret HELIOPOLIS: that the king was then in a diſpoſition to do Joſeph the higheſt honours, is plain from the circumſtances of the ſtory; and that he principally conſulted his eſtabliſhment in this alliance, appears from the account given us by theſe greek hiſtorians. We ſee the public adminiſtration was in the hands of the prieſthood; who would unwillingly bear a ſtranger at the head of affairs. The bringing Joſeph therefore into their family, and Order [n] which was hereditary, was the beſt expedient to allay their prejudices and envy. And this Pharaoh did moſt effectually, by marrying

[m] GEN. xlvi. 20.

[n] Chæremon, who, as we are told by Joſephus, wrote the hiſtory of Egypt, calls Moſes and Joſeph ſcribes; and Joſeph a ſacred ſcribe, κγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωϋσῆ τε καὶ ΙΩΣΗΠΟΝ. καὶ τοῦτον ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ, *cont. Ap.* lib. i. It is true, the hiſtorian has confounded times, in making Joſeph contemporary with Moſes: but this was a common miſtake amongſt the pagans. Juſtin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius calls Moſes the ſon of Joſeph—*Filius ejus* [Joſeph] *Moſes fuit, quem præter paternæ ſcientiæ hæreditatem, &c.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 2. Thoſe learned men therefore are miſtaken, who, for this reaſon, would have it that Chæremon, by Joſeph, meant Joſhua. Beſides, the ſuperior title here given to Joſeph ſhews plainly we are to underſtand the patriarch, and not the companion of Moſes: for tho' it appears from Scripture that Joſeph and Moſes were related to, and educated by the egyptian Prieſthood, yet we have not the leaſt reaſon to think that Joſhua had ever any concern with them; being held with the reſt of his brethren in a ſtate of ſervitude, remote from the benefit of that education, which a ſingular accident had beſtowed upon Moſes.

him into that Caſt which was then of greateſt name and credit amongſt them.

I will only obſerve, that this ſuperior nobility of the Prieſts of *On*, ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their higher antiquity. Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, was the place where that luminary was principally worſhiped; and certainly, from the moſt early times: for Diodorus tells us, that *the firſt gods of Egypt were the ſun and moon*[o]; the truth of which, all this, laid together, remarkably confirms. Now if we ſuppoſe, as is very reaſonable, that the firſt eſtabliſhed Prieſts in Egypt, were thoſe dedicated to the Sun at *On*, we ſhall not be at a loſs to account for their titles of nobility. Strabo ſays they were much given to aſtronomy; and this too we can eaſily believe: for what more likely than that they ſhould be fond[p] of the ſtudy of that ſyſtem, over which their God preſided, not only in his *moral*, but in his *natural* capacity? For whether they received the doctrine from original tradition, or whether they invented it at hazard, which is more likely [q], in order to exalt this their viſible God, by giving him the poſt of honour, it is certain they taught that the ſun was in the center

[o] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. part 2. p. 295.

[p] Hence we may collect, how ill-grounded that opinion is of Eupolemus and other authors, ancient and modern, who imagine, that Abraham firſt taught the Egyptians aſtrology. And indeed the contending for this original of the ſciences ſeems to contradict another argument much in uſe amongſt Divines, and deſervedly ſo; which anſwers the objection of infidels againſt the authority of the Bible, from ſeveral inaccuracies in ſcience to be met with in ſacred hiſtory, by obſerving it was not God's purpoſe, in revealing himſelf to mankind, to inſtruct them in the ſciences.

[q] See the firſt volume of the *Div. Leg.* 4th edit.

of

of its system, and that all the other bodies moved round it, in perpetual revolutions. This noble theory came, with the rest of the egyptian learning, into Greece, (being brought thither by Pythagoras; who, it is remarkable, received it from Œnuphis, a priest of Heliopolis[r];) and, after having given the most distinguished lustre to his school, it sunk into obscurity, and suffered a total eclipse throughout a long succession of learned and unlearned ages; till these times relumed its ancient splendor, and immoveably fixed it on the most unerring principles of science.

II. Another observable circumstance of conformity between the greek historians and MOSES, is in their accounts of the RELIGIOUS RITES of Egypt. Herodotus expresly tells us, that the Egyptians esteemed it a prophanation, to sacrifice any kind of cattle, except swine, bulls, clean calves, and geese[s]; and, in another place, that heifers, rams, and goats were held sacred[t], either in

[r] Εὔδοξον μὲν οὖν Χονούφεώς φησι Μεμφίτου διακοῦσαι· Σόλωνα δὲ, Σόγχιτος Σαΐτου. ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΝ δὲ, Οἰνούφεως ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ, *Plut. de Is. & Osir.* p. 632. *Steph.* ed. Here we see, each sage went for that science he was disposed to cultivate, to its proper Mart: for not only Pythagoras studied astronomy at Heliopolis, where it was professed with the greatest celebrity; but Eudoxus learnt his geometry at Memphis, whose priests were the most profound mathematicians; and Solon was instructed in civil wisdom at Sais, whose patron deity being Minerva (as we are told by Herodotus and Strabo) shews that politicks was there in most request: and this doubtless was the reason why Pythagoras, who, during his long abode in Egypt, went thro' all their schools, chose Minerva for the patroness of his legislation. See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. book ii. sect. 2, 3.

[s] Τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὁσίη θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὑῶν, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν, καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἴωσι, καὶ χηνέων, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; l. ii. c. 45.

[t] — τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ.—cap. xli.—Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίου ἱέρυνται

in one province or in another: tho' not from any adoration paid in theſe early times to the *living animal*. I ſhall ſhew hereafter that the Egyptians at firſt only worſhiped their figures or images. However picture worſhip muſt needs make the animals themſelves ſacred, and unfit for ſacrifice. Now here again, in confirmation of this account, we are told by Scripture, that when Pharaoh would have had Moses ſacrifice to God, in the land of Egypt, according to his own family-rites, the prophet objected, — *It is not meet ſo to do; for we ſhall ſacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: Lo ſhall we ſacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not ſtone us*[u]? And if Herodotus came any thing near the truth in his account of the early ſuperſtition of Egypt, the Iſraelites, we ſee, could not avoid ſacrificing the abomination, i. e. the Gods of the Egyptians. And with what deadly hatred and revenge they purſued ſuch imaginary impieties, the ſame Herodotus informs us, in another place[x].

III. To come next to the CIVIL ARTS of Egypt. —Concerning their practice of phyſic, Herodotus ſays, that it was divided amongſt the faculty in this manner: "Every diſtinct diſtemper hath its "own phyſician, who confines himſelf to the "ſtudy and cure of that alone, and meddles with "no other: ſo that all places are crouded with "phyſicians: for one claſs hath the care of the

ἰδρῦσθαι ἱρὸν, ἢ νομῷ τῷ Θηβαίῃ ἰσὶ, ἤτοι μὲν νῦν πάσης οἰῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, αἰγας θύσσι. Θεὸς γὰρ δὴ ὁ τὰς αὐλὸς ἅπασις ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἴσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος· τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τούτες δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπασις σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τῷ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομῷ τῷ Μενδησίῃ εἰσὶ, ἤτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, ὕεις θύσσι. cap. xlii.

[u] Exod. viii. 26. [x] lib. ii. cap. 65.

"eyes,

" eyes, another of the head, another of the teeth, " another of the region of the belly, and another " of occult diſtempers[y]." After this, we ſhall not think it ſtrange that Joſeph's phyſicians are repreſented as a number. —— *And Joſeph commanded his ſervants, the phyſicians, to embalm his father: and the phyſicians embalmed Iſrael*[z]. A body of theſe domeſtics would now appear an extravagant piece of ſtate, even in a firſt miniſter. But then, we ſee, it could not be otherwiſe, where each diſtemper had its proper phyſician: ſo that every great family, as well as city, muſt needs, as Herodotus expreſſes it, ſwarm with the Faculty: and a more convincing inſtance, of the grandeur, luxury, and politeneſs of a people, cannot, I think, be well given. But indeed it was this circumſtance for which the Egyptian nation was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, not only by the earlieſt greek writers (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) but likewiſe by the holy prophets. There is a remarkable paſſage in Jeremiah, where, foretelling the overthrow of Pharaoh's army at the Euphrates, he deſcribes Egypt by this characteriſtic, her ſkill in medicine. *Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin the daughter of Egypt: in vain ſhalt thou* USE MANY MEDICINES; *for thou ſhalt not be cured*[a]. The Prophet delights in this kind of imagery, which marks out a people by it's ſingularities, or pre-eminence. So again, in this very chapter: EGYPT, ſays he, *is like a* FAIR HEIFER, *but deſtruction cometh: it cometh from the north.*

[y] Ἡ δὲ ἰητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδασται· μιῆς νούσου ἕκαστος ἰητρός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πλείονες. πᾶσα δ' ἰητρῶν ἐστι πλήρης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν ἰητροὶ κατεστέασι· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, κατὰ νηδύν· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων. lib. ii. c. 84.

[z] GEN. l. 2. [a] JEREM. xlvi, 11.

Alſo

Alſo her hired men are in the midſt of her like FATTED BULLOCKS, *for they alſo are turned back and are fled away together* [b]. For the worſhip of Iſis and Oſiris, under the figure of a cow and a bull, and afterwards by the animals themſelves, was the moſt celebrated in all the egyptian Ritual.

But a learned writer, frighten'd by the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt, will needs ſhew, the art of medicine to be of much later original [c]. And to make room for his hypotheſis, he contrives to explain away this direct teſtimony of Herodotus, by a very uncommon piece of criticiſm. This is the ſubſtance of his reaſoning, and in his own words: —— "We read of the "egyptian phyſicians in the days of Joſeph; and "Diodorus repreſents them as an order of men "not only very ancient in Egypt, but as having "a full employment in continually giving phyſic "to the people, not to cure, but to prevent their "falling into diſtempers. Herodotus ſays much

[b] JEREM. xlvi. 20, 21.

[c] I cannot forbear on this occaſion to commend the ingenuous temper of another learned writer, far gone in the ſame ſyſtem: who, having ſaid all he could think of to diſcredit the antiquity and wiſdom of Egypt, concludes in this manner.— "Tandem quæres, in qua doctrina Ægyptiorum propter quam "tantopere celebrati erant in *ipſis Scripturis*, viz. 1 *Reg.* c. iv. "com. 30. et vii. *actorum*, com. 22. Reſpondeo, non nego "magnos *Philoſophos*, *Geometras*, & MEDICOS, et aliarum "artium peritos fuiſſe in Egypto, tempore Moſis, et poſtea "quoque. Sed ſenſim et gradatim illa doctrina exolevit, ut "omnino nihil aut parum ejus permanſerit."——*G. Jamſon*, *Spicilegia* Antiq. Ægypt. p. 400—1.——You will aſk now, What is become of his ſyſtem? No matter. He is true to a better thing, the ſacred Text: for the ſake of which he took up the ſyſtem; and for the ſake of which, upon better information, he lays it down again; and, like an honeſt man, ſticks to his Bible at all hazards.

" the ſame thing, and repreſents the ancient Egyp-
" tians as living under a continual courſe of phyſic,
" undergoing ſo rough a regimen for three days
" together, every month, that I cannot but
" ſuſpect ſome miſtake, both in him, and Diodo-
" rus's account of them in this particular. Hero-
" dotus allows them to have lived in a favour-
" able climate, and to have been a healthy people,
" which ſeems hardly conſiſtent with ſo much me-
" dicinal diſcipline as he imagined them to go
" through, almoſt without interruption. The
" firſt mention we have of phyſicians in the ſacred
" pages ſhews indeed that there was ſuch a pro-
" feſſion in Egypt in Joſeph's time, and Jacob
" was their patient; but their employment was to
" embalm him after he was dead; we do not read
" that any care was taken to give him phyſic
" whilſt alive; which inclines me to ſuſpect that
" the Egpytians had no practice for the cure of the
" diſeaſes of a ſick bed in theſe days: we read of
" no ſick perſons in the early ages. The diſeaſes
" of Egypt, which the Iſraelites had been afraid
" of, were ſuch as they had no cure for; and
" any other ſickneſſes were then ſo little known,
" that they had no names for them.——An early
" death was ſo unuſual, that it was generally re-
" marked to be a puniſhment for ſome extraor-
" dinary wickedneſs. Moſes informs us, that
" the phyſicians embalmed Jacob; many of them
" were employed in the office, and many days
" time was neceſſary for the performance, and
" different perſons performed different parts of it,
" ſome being concerned in the care of one part of
" the body, and ſome of the other: and I imagine
" this manner of practice occaſioned Herodotus
" to hint, that the Egyptians had a different
" phyſician for every diſtemper, or rather, as his

" ſubſequent

" ſubſequent words expreſs, for each different " part of the body: For ſo indeed they had, not " to cure the diſeaſes of it, but to embalm it " when dead. Theſe, I imagine, were the offices " of the egyptian phyſicians in the early days. " They were an order of the miniſters of religion. " The art of curing diſtempers or diſeaſes was not " yet attempted.—We may be ſure the phyſicians " practiſed only ſurgery until after Homer's time; " —for we read in him, that his whole art conſiſted " in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and pre- " paring anodynes.—In the days of Pythagoras " the learned began to form rules of diet for the " preſervation of health, and to preſcribe in this " point to ſick perſons, in order to aſſiſt towards " their recovery. And in this, Strabo tells us " conſiſted the practice of the ancient indian phy- " ſicians. They endeavoured to cure diſtempers " by a diet regimen, but they gave no phyſic. " Hippocrates — began the practice of viſiting " ſick-bed patients, and preſcribed medicines with " ſucceſs for their diſtempers. This, I think, was " the progreſs of phyſic. — *And it muſt evidently* " *appear from it, that the Egyptians could have* " *no ſuch phyſicians in the days of Moſes as Diodo-* " *rus and Herodotus* SEEM *to ſuppoſe*[a]." — So far this writer. But if it be made appear, that the very contrary of every thing here advanced be the truth; I ſhall hope, that what Herodotus and Diodorus, conformable to Scripture, do not *ſeem to ſuppoſe*, but directly and circumſtantially to affirm, may be admitted for certain.

He tells us firſt, " that Diodorus repreſents the " egyptian phyſicians as adminiſtring phyſic to

[a] *The ſacred and profane hiſtory of the world connected*, vol. ii. ed. 2. p. 359, 360, 361, 364, —367.

" the

" the people in the early times, *not to cure, but to* " *prevent their falling into diſtempers.*" One would conclude, from his manner of expreſſion, that the hiſtorian had ſaid they did not adminiſter to the infirm, but to the healthy only; which gives us the idea of a ſuperſtitious kind of practice, by charms and amulets: and ſo indeed the writer is willing we ſhould think of it. *I ſhould imagine*, ſays he, *that their ancient preſcriptions, which Diodorus and Herodotus ſuppoſe them ſo punctual in obſerving, were not medicinal, but religious purifications*[e]. Let Diodorus then ſpeak for himſelf: " They prevent " diſtempers, ſays he, and keep the body in " health by refrigerating and laxative medicines; " by abſtinence and emeticks; ſometimes in a " daily regimen, ſometimes with an intermiſſion " every three or four days: for they hold a ſuper- " fluity in all food, as uſually taken; and that it " is the original of diſtempers: ſo that the above- " mentioned regimen removes the cauſe, and " greatly contributes to preſerve the body in a " ſtate of health[f]." Here we have a very rational theory, and expert and able practice; this preſcribing to prevent diſtempers, being, as amongſt us, the reſult of the phyſician's long experience in his art: for the regimen, we ſee, was intermitted or continued according to the habit and conſtitution of the patient.

But the Egyptians being a healthy people, and living under a favourable climate, could not have oc-

[e] P. 361.

[f] Τὰς δὲ νόσους προπαλαλαμβανόμενοι θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς, καὶ ποτίμοις τισὶ καθαρηρίοις, καὶ νηστείαις καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. Φασὶ γὰρ, πάσης τροφῆς ἀναδοθείσης, τὸ πλέον εἶναι περιττὸν· ἀφ' ἧς γίνεσθαι τὰς νόσους· ὥστε τὴν προειρημένην θεραπείαν ἀναιρεῖσαν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νόσου, μάλιστ' ἂν παρασκευάσαι τὴν ὑγίειαν. *Bibl.* l. i. p. 52.

caſion

caſion (ſays the learned writer) *for ſo much phyſic*; therefore he will *ſuſpect their accounts*. I have obſerved, that theſe accounts are a proof of that grandeur, luxury, and politeneſs which ſacred and prophane hiſtory aſcribe to this people, and which ſo many other circumſtances concur to make credible. Now a too great repletion, the effect of a luxurious diet, would certainly find employment for the whole tribe of evacuants, (as we may ſee by the various experience of our own times) notwithſtanding all the advantages of climate and conſtitution. And let me obſerve, and it ſeems to be deciſive, that the very eſtabliſhment of this principle of the egyptian phyſic, that *all diſtempers aroſe from a too great repletion*, fully evinces them to be a very luxurious people: for a nation accuſtomed to a ſimple and frugal diet, could never have afforded ſufficient obſervations for the invention of ſuch a theory.

It is true, (he owns) *we hear of phyſicians in Joſeph's family, who embalmed his father Jacob; but we do not read they gave him any phyſic while alive.*——Nor do we read that Jacob had any other diſtemper than old age; and, I ſuppoſe, Hippocrates himſelf would ſcarce have preſcribed to that.——*But we read of no ſick perſons in the early ages.* A plain man would have thought this a good reaſon why we read of no medicines adminiſtered. Tho' no man, who conſiders the nature of Scripture hiſtory, will think this any proof that there were *no ſick perſons in thoſe early ages.*—But further, *the diſeaſes of Egypt which the Iſraelites had been afraid of, were ſuch as they had no cure for*, Deut. xxviii. 27. and from hence is inferred the low eſtate of medicine in theſe early times. One would reaſonably ſuppoſe the authority here quoted,

quoted, to ſupport this obſervation, had informed us that theſe were natural diſeaſes, which ſubmitted not to the rude practice of that time. But we are ſurprized to find that they are ſupernatural puniſhments which the Prophet is here denouncing in caſe of diſobedience: And Providence would have defeated its own purpoſe, in ſuffering theſe to be treatable by the common rules of art:—" But " it ſhall come to paſs, if thou wilt not hearken to " the voice of the Lord thy God,—The Lord " will ſmite thee with the botch of Egypt, &c. " whereof thou canſt not be healed [g]." That very *Botch* or *Boyl*, which God had, in their behalf, miraculouſly inflicted on the Egyptians, by the miniſtry of this Prophet; as appears by the following words of God himſelf: " If thou wilt (ſays " he) diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord " thy God, &c. I will *put none of theſe diſeaſes* " *upon thee which I have brought upon the Egyp-* " *tians:* for I am the Lord that healeth thee [h]."— *And all other ſickneſſes*, this learned writer ſays, *were then ſo little known, that they had no name for them.* For which we are referred to the following words of the ſame denunciation, " Alſo every " ſickneſs and every plague which is not written " in the book of this law, them will the Lord " bring upon thee 'till thou be deſtroyed [i]." This ſeems as if the writer conſidered the law of Moſes in the light of *Salmon's Diſpenſatory*, in which we reaſonably ſuppoſe every diſeaſe and remedy without name or mention, to be unknown. —— And ſtill further, *An early death* (ſays he) *was ſo unuſual, that it was generally remarked to be a puniſhment for ſome wickedneſs:* and for this we are ſent

[g] DEUT. xxviii. 15, 27. [h] EXOD. xv. 26.
[i] DEUT. xxviii. 61.

to

to the xxxviii^th^ chapter of Geneſis.—It ſeems then it was the rarity of the fact, which made men believe the evil to be a puniſhment. 'Till now I imagined, it was the ſenſe of their being under an extraordinary Providence: it is certain at leaſt, that the book of Geneſis as plainly repreſents the patriarchs, as the book of Deuteronomy repreſents their poſterity to be under that diſpenſation: and I hope, ere long, to prove theſe repreſentations true. If then we hear in Scripture of little ſickneſs but what is delivered as the effect of divine vengeance, no believer, I perſuade myſelf, will aſcribe this opinion to ignorance, ſuperſtition, or an unuſual appearance, tho' pagan writers be never ſo much accuſtomed to talk in that ſtrain [k], but will own it to be the neceſſary conſequence of an extraordinary providence. The truth is, diſeaſes were then, as now, common in the world at large; but the infliction of them, or an exemption from them, amongſt the people of God, made part of the ſanction of that œconomy under which they lived: —"Ye ſhall ſerve the Lord your God," ſays Moses, "and he ſhall bleſs thy bread and thy "water, and I will take Sickness away from "the midſt of thee [l]." And again, "Thou ſhalt "be bleſſed above all people,—and the Lord "will take away from thee all Sickness [m]." But there are of theſe Divines who read their Bible and readily talk of the extraordinary Providence there repreſented, yet argue in all queſtions ariſing from ſacred hiſtory as if there were indeed no ſuch thing.

[k] Eodem auctore [Homero] diſci poteſt, morbos tum ad iram Deorum immortalium relatos eſſe; & ab iiſdem opem poſci ſolitam. *Celſus de Medicina*, lib. i. *Præf.*

[l] Exod. xxiii. 25. [m] Deut. vii. 14, 15.

The

The learned writer goes on:—*The phyſicians embalmed Jacob, many of them were employed in the office, and many days time was neceſſary for the performance, and different perſons performed different parts of it, ſome being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and ſome of the other.* ——This account is pretended to be taken from Diodorus: how the latter part came in, or how it can be true, unleſs the body were cut in pieces to be embalmed, is not eaſy to conceive: but we know it was embalmed intire; and Diodorus ſays nothing of *ſome being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and ſome of the other.* His plain, intelligible account is this: That different perſons performed different parts of the operation; one marked the place for inciſion; another cut; a third drew out the entrails; a fourth ſalted the body; a fifth waſhed; and a ſixth embalmed it.—But the learned Writer's addition to the account ſeems for the ſake of introducing the extraordinary criticiſm which follows.

And I imagine, ſays he, *this manner of practice occaſioned Herodotus to* HINT *that the Egyptians had a different phyſician for every diſtemper, or rather, as the ſubſequent words expreſs, for each different part of the body: for ſo indeed they had, not to cure the diſeaſes of it, but to embalm it when dead.*——What he means by Herodotus's *hinting* I can hardly tell: for had the hiſtorian been to give his evidence in a court of juſtice, it is impoſſible he ſhould have delivered himſelf with more preciſion. Let us hear him over again: "Every "diſtinct DISTEMPER [ΝΟΥΣΟΣ] hath its own "phyſician, who confines himſelf to the ſtudy "and cure of that, and meddles with no other; "ſo that all places are crouded with phyſicians:

" for one claſs hath the care of the eyes, another " of the head, another of the teeth, another of " the region of the belly, and another of OCCULT " DISTEMPERS [ΑΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΝΟΥΣΩΝ."] Notwithſtanding all this, by *every diſtemper*, is meant, it ſeems, *each part of a dead body:* Death indeed, has been often called a *remedy*, but never, I believe, a *diſeaſe*, before. —— But the *ſubſequent words*, he ſays, *lead us to this ſenſe.* The reader will ſuſpect by this, that I have not given him the whole of the account: But the *ſubſequent words*, whereby our author would ſupport his interpretation, are the beginning of a new chapter about funeral rites: —— *As to their mournings for the dead, and funeral rites, they are of this kind* [a], *&c.* Now becauſe Herodotus ſpeaks next of their *obſequies*, which, methinks, was methodical enough, after his account of their phyſicians, this writer would have the foregoing chapter an anticipation of the following; and the hiſtorian to treat of his ſubject before he comes to it.——He goes on:— *For ſo indeed they had* [*i. e.* a different phyſician for each different part of the body] *not to cure the diſeaſes of it, but to embalm it when dead.* How comes he to know this? Doth Scripture inform him that they had a different phyſician for every different part of a dead body? No. They are only the greek writers (in his opinion) miſunderſtood who are ſuppoſed to ſay it. But why will he depend ſo much upon them in their account of funeral rites, and ſo little in their account of phyſicians? Scripture, which ſays they uſed embalming, and had many phyſicians, is equally favourable to both accounts: But it may be, one is, in itſelf, more credible than the other. It is ſo; but ſurely it is that

[a] Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, ὁκοῖαί τινές εἰσι, &c. l. ii. c. 85.

which tells us they had a different phyſician to every different diſtemper; for we ſee great uſe in this; it being the beſt, nay perhaps the only expedient of advancing medicine into a ſcience. On the other hand, what is ſaid of the ſeveral parts aſſigned to ſeveral men, in the operation of embalming, appears, at firſt view, much more wonderful. 'Tis true, it may be rendered credible; but then it is only by admitting the other account of the egyptian practice of phyſic, which the learned writer hath rejected: for when each diſorder of the body had a ſeveral phyſician, it was natural, it was expedient that each of Theſe who were the embalmers likewiſe, ſhould inſpect that part of the dead corpſe to which his practice was confined; partly to render the operation on the dead body more compleat, but principally, by an anatomical inſpection, to benefit the Living. On this account every interment required a number, as their work was to be divided in that manner, which beſt ſuited the ends of their inſpection. It is true, ſubſequent ſuperſtitions might introduce various practices, in the diviſion of this taſk amongſt the operators, which had no relation to the primitive deſigns.

Theſe I imagine, concludes our writer, *were the offices of the egyptian phyſicians, in the early days; they were an order of the miniſters of religion.*—He then employs ſome pages[o] to prove that the egyptian phyſicians were an order of Religious; and the whole amount comes to this, that their practice was intermixed with ſuperſtitions; a circumſtance which hath attended medicine thro' all its ſtages; and ſhall be accounted for in the progreſs

[o] P. 361.—364.

of this enquiry.—But their *office of embalming* is likewiſe much inſiſted on: for this being part of the egyptian funeral rites, and funeral rites being part of their religion; the conſequence is, that theſe were religious miniſters. The phyſicians had indeed the care of embalming; and it was, as we have hinted above, a wiſe deſignation, if ever there was any: For, firſt, it enabled the phyſicians, as we have obſerved, to diſcover ſomething of the cauſes of the ἀφανίων νόσων, the *unknown* diſeaſes, which was the diſtrict of one claſs; and ſecondly, to improve their ſkill by anatomical enquiries, into the cauſe of the *known*, which was the buſineſs of the reſt. Pliny expreſly ſays, it was the cuſtom of their kings to cauſe dead bodies to be diſſected, to find out the origin and nature of diſeaſes; of which he gives a particular inſtance[p]: and Syncellus, from Manetho, relates, that books of anatomy were written in the reign of the ſecond king of the Thinites.—But to make their employment, in a ſacred rite, an argument of their being an order of Religious, would be juſt as wiſe as to make the prieſts of the church of *Rome*, on account of their adminiſtring *extreme unction*, an order of phyſicians. But tho' the learned writer's arguments to ſupport his fanciful opinions be thus defective, yet what he imagined in this caſe is very true; theſe phyſicians were properly an order of the miniſters of religion; which (tho' it make nothing for his point, for they were

[p] ——Crudos [raphanos] Medici ſuadent ad colligenda acria viſcerum dandos cum ſale jejunis eſſe, atque ita vomitionibus præparant meatum. Tradunt & præcordiis neceſſarium hunc ſuccum: quando phthiſim cordi intus inhærentem, non alio potuiſſe depelli compertum ſit in ÆGYPTO, REGIBUS CORPORA MORTUORUM AD SCRUTANDOS MORBOS INSECANTIBUS. *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. xix. cap. 5.

still as properly physicians) I shall now shew by better arguments than those of system-makers, the testimonies of antiquity.—In the most early times of the egyptian monarchy there was no accurate separation of science[q] into its distinct branches. The scholiast on Ptolemy's Tetrabiblus expresly tells us, that their ancient writings did not treat separately of medicine, astrology, and religion, but of all these together[r]: and Clemens Alexandrinus says, that of forty two books of Mercury, which were the bible of the Egyptians, six and thirty contained all their philosophy; and were to be well studied by the several orders of the priesthood, which he before mentions; the other six, which related entirely to medicine, belonged to the παστοφόροι, *i. e.* such as wore the cloak[s]; and these, as in another place he tells us, were an order of ministers of religion[t]: and even in Greece, the art of medicine being brought thither from Egypt, went in partnership, during the first ages, with philosophy; tho' the separation was made long before the time which Celsus assigns to it[u], as

[q] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i.

[r] Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὰ Ἰατρικὰ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ Ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ Τελεστικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνέγραψαν.

[s] — δύο μὲν οὖν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι· ὧν τὰς μὲν λϛ, τὴν πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων περιεχούσας φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ προειρημένοι ἐκμανθάνουσι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἕξ, οἱ ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΙ, ἰατρικὰς οὔσας, &c. —— l. vi. *Strom.*

[t] — ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ δὲ, ἤ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἱεροποιούντων περὶ τὸ τέμενος, σεμνὸν διδορκὼς, &c. — *Pæd.* l. iii. c. 2. From this passage we understand, that it was an inferior order of the priesthood which practised physic; for such were those who sacrificed.

[u] Hippocrates Cous, primus quidem ex omnibus memoria dignis ab studio sapientiæ disciplinam hanc separavit. *De Med.* l. i.

as we ſhall ſee preſently. Thus it appears that theſe artiſts were properly both prieſts and phyſicians, not very unlike the monk and friar phyſicians of the late ages of barbariſm.

Our author now proceeds to the general hiſtory of phyſic. Let us ſee if he be more happy in his *imaginations* here. *We may be ſure*, ſays he, *the phyſicians practiſed only ſurgery 'till after Homer's time.*——What muſt we ſay then to the ſtory of Melampus[x], who learnt the art of phyſic and divination in Egypt[y]; and cured Prœtus's daughters of an atrabilaire diſorder, with hellebore, a hundred

l. i. *Præf.* He adds, we ſee, to ſave his credit, *ex omnibus memoria dignis*; taking it for granted, that thoſe who were not remembered, were not worth remembering.

x See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. edit. 2d. p. 361.

y *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. i. ſays, that Melampus was in the number of thoſe civilizers of Greece, who went, to fit themſelves for that employment, into Egypt: and, as Orpheus proceeded thence a legiſlator and philoſopher; ſo Melampus, whoſe bent lay another way, commenced phyſician and diviner; thoſe two arts being, as we have ſaid, profeſſed together in Egypt. Apollodorus ſays, he was the firſt who cured diſeaſes by medicinal potions. τὴν διὰ φαρμακῶν καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὑρηκώς.---meaning the firſt among the Greeks. As this Greek went to Egypt to be inſtructed in his craft, ſo we meet with an Egyptian who went to practiſe the very ſame trade in Greece:

Ἄπις γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτείας,
ΙΑΤΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, χθόνα
Τήνδ' ἐκκαθαίρει κνωδάλων βροτοφθόρων.
Æſch. Ικετ. p. 316. *Stanl.* ed.

As to what is ſaid of his being the ſon of Apollo, we muſt underſtand it in the ſenſe of Homer, where he ſpeaks of the egyptian phyſicians in general:

ΙΗΤΡΟΣ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ ΠΑΙΗΟΝΟΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ.

and

and fifty years before the argonautic expedition? But why not *'till after the time of Homer*, who wrote not of his own time, but of the trojan, near three hundred years before; and this, in a kind of work which requires decorum, and will not suffer a mixture of later or foreign manners to be brought into the scene? The writer therefore, at least should have said, 'till after the trojan times. But how is even this supported? Why, *we read in Homer, that their* WHOLE *art consisted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing anodynes*; and again, where Idomeneus says to Nestor, *That one physician is worth a many other men, for extracting arrows, and applying lenitives to the wound.*

Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,
Ἰούς τ' ἐκτάμνειν, ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν[z].

Homer's speakers rarely talk impertinently. Idomeneus is shewing the use of a physician in an army: now surely, his use on these occasions, consists in healing wounds. The poet therefore chose his topic of recommendation with good judgment; and we may be certain, had he spoken of the use of a physician in a peaceable city, he had placed it in the art of curing distempers: and this is no *imagination*; we shall see presently that he hath in fact done so. In the mean time let me ask, what there is in this passage, which in the least intimates that *the* WHOLE *art consisted in extracting arrows, and applying anodynes?* But Pliny says so[a], who understands

[z] *Il.* xi. ver. 514, 515.

[a] Medicina—Trojanis temporibus clara—vulnerum tamen duntaxat remediis. *Nat. Hist.* l. xxix. cap. 1. Celsus too talks in

derſtands Homer to intimate thus much. What then? Is not Homer's poem ſtill remaining; and cannot we ſee, without Pliny, what inference the rules of good ſenſe authoriſe us to draw from the poet's words? The general humour of Antiquity, which was ſtrangely ſuperſtitious with regard to this Father of the poets[b], may be ſome excuſe for Pliny in concluding ſo much from his ſilence; for Homer was their bible; and whatſoever was not read therein, nor could be expreſly proved thereby, paſſed with them for apocryphal. But let us, whoſe veneration for Homer riſes not quite ſo high, fairly examine the nature of his firſt great work: This, which is an intire ſcene of war and ſlaughter, gave him frequent occaſion to take notice of outward applications, but none of internal remedies; except in the hiſtory of the peſtilence; which being believed to come in puniſhment from the Gods, was ſuppoſed to ſubmit to nothing but religious atonements: not to ſay, that it was the chirurgical part of healing only that could be mentioned with ſufficient dignity. The Greeks were large feeders, and bitter railers; for which exceſſes, I ſuppoſe Machaon, during the ten years ſiege, adminiſtered many a ſound emetic and cathartic: but theſe were no proper ornaments for an epic poem. I ſaid, his

in the ſame ſtrain: — Quos tamen Homerus non in peſtilentia, neque in variis generibus morborum aliquid attuliſſe auxilii, ſed vulneribus tantummodo ferro & medicamentis mederi ſolitos eſſe propoſuit. Ex quo apparet has partes medicinæ *ſolas* ab his eſſe tentatas, eaſque eſſe vetuſtiſſimas. *De Medicina*, lib. i. *Præf.*

[b] — Homerum poetam multiſcium, vel potius *cunctarum rerum adprime peritum*. — And again: — Ut *omnis vetuſtatis certiſſimus auctor* Homerus docet. This was ſaid by Apuleius, a very celebrated platonic philoſopher, in a juridical defence of himſelf before a proconſul of Africa.

ſubject

ſubject did not give him occaſion to mention inward applications; nor was this ſaid evaſively, as ſhall now be ſhewn from his ſecond poem, of a more peaceable turn; which, admitting the mention of that other part of the art of medicine, the uſe of internal remedies, he has therefore ſpoken in its praiſe: Helen is brought in giving Telemachus a preparation of opium; which, the poet tells us, ſhe had from Polydamna, the wife of Thon the Egyptian, whoſe country abounded with medicinal drugs, many of which were ſalubrious, and many baneful; whence the phyſicians of that land were more ſkilful than the reſt of mankind.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μειλιόεντα,
Ἐσθλὰ, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις
ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΗ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.
Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης [c].

Here then is an expreſs teſtimony much earlier than the time of Homer, for the egyptian phyſicians practiſing more than ſurgery; which was the thing to be proved.

Our author goes on: *In the days of Pythagoras the learned began to form rules of diet for the preſervation of health, and to preſcribe in this point to ſick perſons.* This is founded on the rules of diet obſerved in the pythagoric ſchool. There ſeems to be ſomething ſtrangely perverſe in this writer's way of arguing;—In the caſe of the egyptian regimen,

[c] *Odyſſ.* lib. iv. ver. 227, *& ſeq.* Clarke on this place of Homer obſerves that Pliny, lib. xxv. c. 1. quotes this paſſage as aſcribing a knowledge of medicinal herbs to the Egyptians before lower Egypt was inhabited.

tho'

tho' it be expreſly delivered by the greek writers as a medicinal one, yet by reaſon of ſome ſuperſtitions in it, our author will have it to be *a religious obſervance*; on the contrary, this pythagoric regimen, tho' it be generally repreſented, and even by Jamblichus himſelf, as a ſuperſtitious practice, yet, by reaſon of its healthfulneſs, he will have to be *a courſe of phyſic*.

He proceeds:—Hippocrates *began the practice of viſiting ſick-bed patients, and preſcribed medicines with ſucceſs for their diſtempers.* For which, Pliny is again quoted; who does indeed ſay he was the founder of the clinic ſect: but it is ſtrange he ſhould ſay ſo; ſince Hippocrates himſelf, in numerous places of his writings, has inform'd us that it was founded long before. His tract *De diæta in acutis*, begins in this manner: "Thoſe "who have collected what we call the CNIDIAN "SENTENCES, have accurately enough regiſtered "the various ſymptoms or affections in the ſeveral "diſtempers, with the cauſes of ſome of them: "thus far might be well performed by a writer "who was no phyſician, if ſo it were, that he "carefully examined each patient about his ſeveral "affections. But what a phyſician ſhould previouſly be well inſtructed in, and what he cannot learn from his patient, that, for the moſt "part, is omitted in this work; ſome things in "this place, others in that; ſeveral of which are "very uſeful to be known in the art of judging "by ſigns. As to what is ſaid of judging by "ſigns, or how the cure ſhould be attempted, I "think very differently from them. And it is not "in this particular only that they have not my "approbation: I as little like their practice in "uſing ſo ſmall a number of medicines; for the "greateſt

" greatest part they mention, except in acute " distempers, are purgatives, and whey, and milk " for the time: indeed, were these medicines pro- " per for the distempers to which they direct them " to be applied, I should think them worthy of " double praise for being able to attain their " purpose so easily. But this I do not appre- " hend to be the case: however, those who have " since revised and new model'd these *sentences*, " have shewn much more of the physician in their " prescriptions[d]." From this long passage, we may fairly draw these conclusions: 1. That there was a physic-school at Cnidus: this appears from the sentences collected under its name. 2. That the cnidian school was derived from the egyptian: this appears from their sole use of evacuants, in all but acute distempers. 3. That it was now of considerable standing; having had a reform in the teaching of more able practitioners. 4. And lastly, which is most to the point, that the physicians of this school were of the clinic sect; it being impossible they should compose such a work as Hippocrates here criticizes, without a constant at-

[d] Οἱ ξυγγράψαντες τὰς ΚΝΙΔΙΑΣ καλεομένας ΓΝΩΜΑΣ, ὁκοῖα μὲν πάσχουσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἐν ἑκάστοισι τῶν νουσημάτων, ὀρθῶς ἔγραψαν, καὶ ὁκοίως ἔνια ἀπεβαίνειν αὐτέων· καὶ ἄχρι μὲν τουτέων καὶ μὴ ἰητρὸς ἂν δυναίτο ὀρθῶς ξυγγράψαι, εἰ εὖ παρὰ τῶν καμνόντων ἑκάστου πυθοίατο, ὁκοῖα πασχουσιν· ὁκόσα δὲ προκαταμαθεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἰητρὸν, μὴ λέγοντος τοῦ καμνοντος. τουτέων τὰ πολλὰ παρεῖται· ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοισι, καὶ ἐπίκαιρα ἔνια ἐόντα ἐς τέκμαρσιν. ὁκόταν δὲ ἐς τέκμαρσιν λέγηται ὡς χρὴ ἕκαστα ἰητρεύειν, ἐν τουτέοισι πολλὰ ἑτεροίως γινώσκω, ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεξιέσαν· καὶ οὐ μόνον διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινέω, ἀλλ ὅτι καὶ ὀλίγοισι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῖσιν ἀκέεσιν ἐχρέοντο· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα αὐτέοισιν εἰρέαται, πλὴν τῶν ὀξειῶν νούσων, φάρμακα ἐλατήρια διδόναι, καὶ ὀῤῥὸν, καὶ γάλα, ἐς τὴν ὥρην πιπίσκειν. ἢν μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν, καὶ ἁρμόζοντα τοῖσι νουσήμασιν, ἐφ' οἷσι παρῄνεον διδόναι, πολὺ ἂν ἀξιωτέρα ἐπαίνου ἦν, ὅτι ὀλίγα ἐόντα αὐτάρκεά ἐστι· νῦν δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει· οἱ μέν τοι ὕστερον ἐπιδιασκευάσαντες ἰητρικώτερον δή τι ἐπῆλθον περὶ τῶν προσοιστέων ἑκάστοισιν.

tendance

tendance on the ſick-bed: and therefore Hippocrates was not the founder of this ſect, as Pliny, and our author after him, ſuppoſed.—But, for the eſtabliſhed ſtate of phyſic, its ſtudy as an art, and its practice as a profeſſion, when Hippocrates made ſo ſuperior a figure, we have the full evidence of Herodotus, his contemporary; who tells us, that in the time of Darius Hyſtaſpis the phyſic ſchool at Crotona was eſteemed by the Greeks, firſt in reputation; and that, at Cyrene, ſecond[e]; which both implies, that theſe were of conſiderable ſtanding, and that there were many others: and if Galen may be believed, who, tho' a late writer, was yet a very competent judge, there were many others[f]: ſo that Hippocrates was ſo far from being the firſt that viſited ſick-beds, and preſcribed with ſucceſs in diſtempers, that he was not even the firſt amongſt the Greeks. The truth of the matter is this, the *divine old man* (as his diſciples have been wont to call him) ſo greatly eclipſed all that went before him, that, as poſterity eſteemed his works the canon, ſo they eſteemed him the father of medicine: And this was the humour of antiquity. The ſame eminence in poetry made them regard Homer as the founder of his art, tho' they who penetrate into the perfection of his compoſitions, underſtand that nothing is more unlikely. But what is ſtrange in this matter is, that the writer ſhould think it evidence enough to bring in Pliny ſpeaking of Hippocrates as the firſt amongſt the Greeks who preſcribed to ſick-beds with ſucceſs, for the confutation of Herodotus (contemporary with Hippocrates) in what

[e] —ἐγένετο γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ, Κυρηναῖοι. lib. iii. c. 131.

[f] *Meth. Medendi*, lib. i.

he

he ſays of the pharmaceutic part of medicine, as an ancient practice in Egypt.

But all the writer's errors in this diſcourſe ſeem to proceed from a wrong aſſumption, that the diætetic medicine was, in order of time, before the pharmaceutic: and the greater ſimplicity of the firſt method, ſeems to have led him into this miſtake:——*In the days of Pythagoras*, ſays he, *the learned began to form rules of diet for the preſervation of health; and in this conſiſted the practice of the ancient Indian phyſicians; they endeavoured to cure diſtempers by a diet regimen, but they gave no phyſic. Hippocrates began the practice of viſiting ſick-bed patients, and preſcribed medicines with ſucceſs for their diſtempers. This, I think, was the progreſs of phyſic.*—I hold the matter to be juſt otherwiſe; and that, of the three parts of medicine, the CHIRURGIC, the PHARMACEUTIC, and the DIÆTETIC, the *diætetic* was the laſt in uſe; as the *chirurgic* was, in all likelihood, the firſt. In the early ages of long life and temperance, men were ſtill ſubject to the common accidents of wounds, bruiſes, and diſlocations; this would ſoon raiſe *ſurgery* into an art: agreeably to this ſuppoſition, we may obſerve, that Sextus Empiricus derives ἰατρὸς, a phyſician, from ἰὸς, a dart or arrow; the firſt attack upon the human ſpecies being of this more violent ſort. Nor was *pharmacy* ſo far behind as ſome may imagine; nature itſelf often eaſes a too great repletion by an extraordinary evacuation; this natural remedy (whoſe good effects as they are immediately felt, are eaſily underſtood) would teach men to ſeek an artificial one, when nature was not at hand to relieve. But the very early invention of pharmacy is further ſeen from that ſuperſtition of antiquity, which made medicine

medicine the *gift of the Gods.* For, what medicine do they mean? It could not be ſetting a fracture, or cloſing the lips of a wound; much leſs a regular diet. It could be nothing then but pharmacy; and this, both in the invention and operation, had all the advantages for making it's fortune: Firſt, it was not the iſſue of ſtudy, but of chance; the cauſe of which is out of ſight: but what men underſtand not, they generally aſcribe to ſuperior agency. It was believed, even ſo late as the time of Alexander [g], that the Gods continued to enrich the phyſical diſpenſatory. Secondly, there was ſomething as extraordinary in the operation as in the invention. Pharmacy is divided into the two general claſſes of evacuants and alteratives; the moſt efficacious of theſe latter, commonly called *Specifics*, not working by any viſible effects of evacuation, do their buſineſs like a charm. Thus, as the general notion of the divine original of medicine made the patient very ſuperſtitious [h], ſo the ſecret operation of alteratives inclined the practiſer to the ſame imbecillity. Hence it is that ſo much of this folly hath overrun the art of medicine in all ages. Now the beſtowing the origine of pharmacy in this manner, is abundantly ſufficient to prove its high antiquity; for the Ancients gave nothing to the Gods of whoſe original they had any records: but where the memory of the invention was loſt, as of ſeed-corn, wine, writing, civil ſociety, &c. there, the Gods ſeized the property, by that kind of right, which gives ſtrays to the lord of the manor [i]. But

[g] *Cicero de Divin.* lib. ii. c. 66.

[h] Diis primum inventores ſuos aſſignavit, & cœlo dicavit; necnon & hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur. *Plin. N. H.* l. xxix. *Proœm.*

[i] The Rabbins, amongſt their other pagan conceits, adopted this; and taught that God himſelf inſtructed *Adam* in the art of medicine;

But now the diætetic medicine had a very low original, and a well known man for its author; a man with a whole train of heathen gods, even the great Hippocrates himſelf: and this we learn from the beſt evidence, his own writings. In his treatiſe *de Veter. Medicina*, he expreſly ſays, that MEDICINE *was found out from the moſt early times*[k]; meaning, as the context ſhews, *Pharmacy*: but where he ſpeaks ſoon after in the ſame treatiſe of the *diætetic medicine* (which he calls τὴν ἰητρικὴν, as the pharmaceutic above, ἰητρικὴ ſubſtantively) he ſays, *the* ART OF MEDICINE *was neither found out in the moſt early times, nor ſought after*[l]. And in his *de Aëre &c. locis*, he tells us, *That the ancients* (meaning all who had preceded him) *wrote nothing of this worthy virtue; and that, notwithſtanding it was a matter of moſt moment, they had intirely omitted it, while they were not ignorant of the numerous diviſions into the ſpecies of diſeaſes, nor of the various ſhapes and appearances of each*[m]. Hence it appears, that, before the time of Hippocrates, the viſiting of ſick-beds and preſcribing medicines were in practice; but that the diætetic medicine, as an art, was intirely unknown: ſo that had Pliny called Hippocrates the author of this, inſtead of the founder of the clinic ſect, he had come much nearer to the truth.

medicine;—"Et ductus Adam per omnes Paradiſi fenitas vidit "omne lignum, arbores, plantas, & lapides, & docuit eum "Dominus omnem naturam eorum ad ſanandum omnem do'o-"rem & infirmitatem." *R. Ebenezra*. Which, however, ſhews their opinion of the high antiquity of the art.

[k] —— ἰδρυθῆ δὲ τέχνα πάλαι ὑπάρχει. c. iii.

[l] —τὸ γὰς ἀρχὴν ὅτ' ἀν εὑρέθη τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, ὅτ' ἀν ἐζητέε. cap. v.

[m] Ἀτὰς δὲ περὶ διαίτης οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ξυνέγραψαν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγε, καὶ τὸ μέγα τὸ πρῶτον. τὰς μὲν τὸν νοσημάτων τὰς ἐν διαφόροισι τόποισι ἐόντας, καὶ τὸν πολυχρονίων αὐτέων ἐκ ἠγνόεον. cap. ii.

But

But without this evidence we might reaſonably conclude, even from the nature of the thing, that the *diætetic* was the lateſt effort of the art of medicine. For 1. The cure it performs is ſlow and tedious, and conſequently it would not be thought of, at leaſt not employed, 'till the quick and powerful operation of the pharmaceutic, (which is therefore moſt obvious to uſe) had been found to be ineffectual. 2. To apply the diætetic medicine, with any degree of ſafety or ſucceſs, there is need of a thorough knowledge of the animal œconomy, and of its many various complexions; with long experience in the nature and qualities of aliments, and their different effects on different habits and conſtitutions[n]. But the art of medicine muſt have made ſome conſiderable progreſs before theſe acquirements were to be expected in its profeſſors.

If I have been longer than ordinary on this ſubject, it ſhould be conſidered, that the clearing up the ſtate of the egyptian medicine is a matter of importance; for if the practice, in the time of Joſeph, was what the greek writers repreſent it, as I think I have ſhewn it was, then this topic ſeems abſolutely deciſive for the high antiquity of Egypt; and the learned perſon's hypotheſis lying in my way, it was incumbent on me to remove it.

[n] Φημὶ δὲ δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς ξυγγράφειν περὶ διαίτης ἀνθρωπίνης, πρῶτον μὲν παιδὸς φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γνῶναι καὶ διαγνῶναι· γνῶναι μὲν, ἀπὸ τίνων ξυνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· διαγνῶναι δὲ, ὑπὸ τίνων μερῶν κεκράτηται· εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ξύστασιν ἐπιγνώσεται, καὶ τὸ ἐπικρατέον ἐν τῷ σώματι, οὐκ οἷός τ' ἂν εἴη τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσενεγκεῖν· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν χρὴ γινώσκειν τὸν ξυγγράφοντα· μέλλα δὲ ταῦτα, σίτων καὶ πόσων ἀπάντων, οἷσι διαιτώμεθα, δύναμιν ἥν τινα ἕκαστα ἔχει, καὶ τὴν καιὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν δι' ἀνάγκην καὶ τέχνην ἀνθρωπηίην· δεῖ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι τῶν τε ἰσχυρῶν φύσει ὡς χρὴ τὴν δύναμιν ἀφαιρέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ ἀσθενέσιν, ὅκως χρὴ ἰσχὺν προσγίνεσθαι διὰ τέχνης, ὅκως ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ἑκάστων παραγίνηται. *Hippocr. de Diæta*, lib. i. cap. 1.

IV. We

IV. We come, in the last place, to the FUNERAL RITES of Egypt; which Herodotus describes in this manner: "Their mournings and rites of "sepulture are of this kind: When any consider-"able person in the family dies, all the females "of that family besmear their heads or faces with "loam and mire; and so, leaving the dead body "in the hands of the domestics, march in proces-"sion thro' the city, with their garments close girt "about them, their breasts laid open, beating "themselves; and all their Relations attending. "In an opposite procession appear the males, "close girt likewise, and undergoing the same "discipline. When this is over, they carry the "body to be salted: there are men appointed for "this business, who make it their trade and em-"ployment: — They first of all draw out the "brain, with a hooked iron, thro' the nostrils, "*&c.* —— after this they hide it in nitre for the "space of SEVENTY DAYS, and longer it is not "lawful to keep it salted°." Diodorus agrees with Herodotus in all the essential circumstances of mourning and embalming. In this last he seems to vary in one particular: "They then anoint the "whole body with the gum or resin of cedar, and "of other plants, with great cost and care, for

° Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ αἵδε· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων ἄνθρωπος, τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ᾖ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· κἄπειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκηίοισι λιποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὗται ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στροφώμεναι, τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμέναι, καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζούς· Σὺν δὲ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι. ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται, ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ οὗτοι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. — πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδηρῷ διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, *&c.* —— ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλεῦνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. lib. ii. cap. 85, 86.

" ABOVE THIRTY DAYS; and afterwards ſeaſon-
" ing it with myrrh, cinnamon, and other ſpices,
" not only proper to preſerve the body for a
" long time, but to give it a grateful odour, they
" deliver it to the relations[p]," *&c.* All this operoſe circumſtance of embalming, ſcripture hiſtory confirms and explains; and not only ſo, but reconciles the ſeemingly different accounts of the two greek writers, concerning the number of days, during which the body remained with the embalmers: " And the phyſicians, ſays Moſes,
" embalmed Iſrael; and FORTY DAYS were ful-
" filled for him (for ſo are fulfilled the days of
" thoſe which are embalmed) and the Egyptians
" mourned for him THREESCORE AND TEN
" DAYS[q]." Now we learn from the two greek hiſtorians, that the time of mourning was while the body remained with the embalmers, which Herodotus tells us was ſeventy days: this explains why the Egyptians mourned for Iſrael threeſcore and ten days. During this time the body lay in nitre; the uſe of which was to dry up all its ſuperfluous and noxious moiſture[r]; and when, in the compaſs of thirty days, this was reaſonably well effected, the remaining forty, the ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείας τῶν τριάκοντα of Diodorus, were employed in anointing it with gums and ſpices to preſerve it, which was the proper embalming. And this explains the meaning of *the forty days which were fulfilled for*

[p] Καθόλε δὲ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κεδρίᾳ καί τισιν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἀξιῶσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείας τῶν τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνῃ καὶ κινναμώμῳ, καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολὺν χρόνον τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι θεραπεύσιες, παραδιδάσι τοῖς συγγενέσι. lib. i. *Bill.* p. 58.

[q] GEN. l. 2, 3.

[r] Τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ νίτρον καθαλήκει. *Herodot.* p. 119.

Iſrael,

Iſrael, being the days of thoſe that are embalmed. Thus the two greek writers are reconciled; and they and Scripture mutually explained and ſupported by one another.

But if it ſhould be ſaid, that tho' MOSES here mentions embalming, yet the practice was not ſo common as the greek hiſtorians repreſent it, 'till many ages after; I reply, that the company of Iſhmaelitiſh merchants with their camels bearing ſpicery, balm, and myrrh to carry down into Egypt[t], clearly ſhews, that embalming was at this time become a general practice.

On the whole, what ſtronger evidence can any one require of a rich and powerful monarchy, than what hath been here given?—Scripture deſcribes Egypt under that condition, in the times of the Patriarchs, and the egreſſion of their poſterity: the greek writers not only ſubſcribe to this high antiquity, but ſupport their teſtimony by a minute detail of cuſtoms and manners then in uſe, which could belong only to a large and well policied kingdom; and theſe again are diſtinctly confirmed by the circumſtantial hiſtory of MOSES.

But it is not only in what they agree, but likewiſe in what they differ, that ſacred and profane accounts are mutually ſupported, and the high antiquity of Egypt eſtabliſhed. To give one inſtance: Diodorus expreſly tells us, that *the lands were divided between the king, the prieſts, and the ſoldiery*[u]; and MOSES (ſpeaking of the egyptian famine and its effects) as expreſsly ſays that *they were divided between the king, the prieſts, and the*

[t] GEN. xxxvii. 25. [u] L. i. Bibl.

people[u]. Now as contrary as theſe two accounts look, it will be found, upon comparing them, that Diodorus fully ſupports all that Moses hath delivered concerning this matter. Moses tells us, that before the famine, all the lands of Egypt were in the hands of the king, the prieſts, and the people; but that this national calamity made a great revolution in property, and brought the whole poſſeſſions of the people into the king's hands; which muſt needs make a prodigious acceſſion of power to the crown. But Joſeph, in whom the offices of miniſter and patriot ſupported each other, and jointly concurred to the public ſervice[x], prevented, for ſome time, the ill effects of this acceſſion, by his farming out the new domain to the old proprietors, on very eaſy conditions. We may well ſuppoſe this wiſe diſpoſition to continue till that *new king aroſe, who knew not Joſeph*[y]; that is,

[u] Gen. xlvii.

[x] Nothing can be more unjuſt or abſurd than the accuſation of Joſeph's making the free monarchy of Egypt deſpotic: for allowing it did indeed at this time ſuffer ſuch a revolution, who is to be eſteemed the author of it but Pharaoh himſelf? Joſeph indeed was prime miniſter; but it does not appear that his maſter was of that tribe of lazy monarchs, who intruſt their ſceptre to the hands of their ſervants. Moſes deſcribes him as active, vigilant, jealous of his authority, anxious for his country, and little indulgent to his officers of ſtate. But the terms in which he inveſts Joſeph in his office, ſhew that office to be purely miniſterial: *Thou ſhalt be over my houſe, and according to thy word ſhall all my people be ruled*, ONLY IN THE THRONE WILL I BE GREATER THAN THOU. [Gen. xli. 40.] *i. e.* thou ſhalt *adminiſter juſtice*, but I will reſerve to myſelf the prerogative of *giving law*. It is highly reaſonable therefore, when we find, in ſo conciſe a hiſtory as the moſaic, Joſeph bidding the people give their money, their cattle, and their lands for bread, to ſuppoſe that he only delivered to them the words of Pharaoh, who would ſupply their wants on no other conditions.

[y] Exod. i. 8.

would

would obliterate his memory, as averſe to his ſyſtem of policy [x]. He, as appears from Scripture, greatly affected a deſpotic government; to ſupport which, he firſt eſtabliſhed, as I collect, a ſtanding militia: and endowed it with the lands formerly the people's; who now became a kind of Villains to this order, which reſembled the Zaims and Timariots of the turkiſh empire; and were obliged to perſonal ſervice: this, and the prieſthood, being the orders of nobility in this powerful empire; and ſo conſiderable they were, that out of either of them, indifferently, as we obſerved before [a], their kings were taken and elected. Thus the property of Egypt became at length divided in the manner, the Sicilian relates: and it is remarkable, that from this time, and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a ſtanding militia [b], and of the king's ſix hundred choſen chariots, *&c.*

SECT. IV.

HAVING thus proved the high antiquity of Egypt from the concurrent teſtimony of ſacred and profane hiſtory; I go on, as I propoſed, to evince the ſame from internal evidence; taken from the original uſe of their ſo much celebrated HIEROGLYPHICS.

But to give this argument its due force, it will be neceſſary to trace up hieroglyphic writing to its original; which a general miſtake concerning its

[x] In this ſenſe is the phraſe frequently uſed in Scripture, as JUDGES ii. 10. — "And there aroſe another generation after "them, which *knew not* the Lord, nor yet the works which "he had done for Iſrael."—Here, *knew not*, can only ſignify *deſpiſed, ſet at nought.*

[a] See the firſt vol. [b] EXOD. xiv. 8, 9.

primeval uſe, hath rendered extremely difficult. The miſtake I mean, is that which makes the hieroglyphics to be invented by the egyptian prieſts, in order to hide and ſecrete their wiſdom from the knowledge of the vulgar[c]: a miſtake which hath involved this part of ancient learning in much obſcurity and confuſion.

I.

Men ſoon found out two ways of communicating their thoughts to one another; the firſt by SOUNDS, and the ſecond by FIGURES: for there being frequent occaſion to have their conceptions either perpetuated, or communicated at a diſtance, the way of figures or characters was next thought upon, after ſounds (which were momentary and confined) to make their conceptions laſting and extenſive.

[c] This is the general ſentiment of Antiquity; and as generally embraced by modern writers. Kircher makes it the foundation of his *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, and ſo conſequently hath written a large volume full of the moſt viſionary interpretations. The great principle, he goes upon, as he himſelf tells us, is this: — Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud eſt, quàm Arcana de Deo, diviniſque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæteriſque mundanarum poteſtatum claſſibus ordinibuſque ſcientia, SAXIS potiſſimùm inſculpta. *Oedipus Ægyptiacus*, tom. iii. p. 4. Dr. Wilkins follows the received opinion in the general diviſion of his ſubject, in his *Eſſay towards a real character*: For ſpeaking of notes for ſecrecy, *ſuch* (ſays he) *were the egyptian hieroglyphics*. —— Yet he adds, with his uſual penetration, — *it ſeems to me queſtionable whether the Egyptians did not at firſt uſe their hieroglyphics as a mere ſhift for the want of letters, as was done by the Mexicans*, p. 12.—And this was all his ſubject led him to ſay of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*. Servius had gone further, and aſſerted the priority of hieroglyphics without a doubt. Annus enim ſecundum Ægyptios indicabatur, *ante inventas literas*, picto dracone caudam ſuam mordente. *apud Virg. Æn.* l. v. ver. 85.

The

The firſt and moſt natural way of communicating our thoughts by marks or figures, is by tracing out the images of things. So the early people, to expreſs the idea of a man or horſe, delineated the form of thoſe animals. Thus the firſt eſſay towards writing was a mere picture.

I. We ſee an example of this amongſt the MEXICANS, whoſe only method of recording their laws and hiſtory, was by a picture-writing[d]. Joſeph Acoſta tells us, that, when the inhabitants of the ſea ſhore ſent expreſſes to Montezuma with news of the firſt appearance of the ſpaniſh navy on their coaſts, the advices were delineated in large paintings, upon cloth[e]. The ſame writer gives us, in another place, a more particular account of this ſort of painting: "One of our company "of Jeſus (ſays he) a man of much experience "and diſcernment, aſſembled in the province of "Mexico the Ancients of Tuſcuco, Tulla, and "Mexico; who, in a long conference held with "him, ſhewed him their records, hiſtories, and

[d] In diſſetto di lettere uſarono gl' ingegnoſi Mexicani figure, e *Geroglifici*, per ſignificar le coſe corporee, che han figura; e per lo rimanente, altri caratteri propri: e in tal modo ſegnavano, a prò della poſterità, tutte le coſe accadute. Per ragion d' eſemplo per ſignificare l' entrata degli Spagnuoli dipinſero un' uomo col cappello, e colla veſte roſſa, nel ſegno di Canna ch' era proprio di quell' anno. *Giro del Mondo de' Dottor D. Gio Fr. Gemelli Careri, tom. ſeſto. Arº. Nuova Spagna*, cap. vi. p. 37.

[e] —Quando era caſo de importancia lleuauana a los Señores de Mexico pintado el negocio de que les querian informar; como lo hizieron quando aparecieron los primeros navios de Eſpañoles, y quando fueron a tomar a Toponchan. *Acoſta's hiſt. of the Indies, Madr.* 1608. 4to. lib. vi. cap. 10. —Con eſte recado fueron a Mexico los de la coſta lleuando pintado en unos paños todo quanto auian viſto, y los navios, y hombres, y ſu figura, y juntamente las piedras que les auian dado. lib. vii. cap. 24.

" calendars; things very worthy notice, as con-
" taining their figures and hieroglyphics, by which
" they painted their conceptions in the follow-
" ing manner: things that have a bodily ſhape,
" were repreſented by their proper figures; and
" thoſe which have none, by other ſignificative
" characters: and thus they writ or painted every
" thing they had occaſion to expreſs.—For my own
" ſatisfaction I had the curioſity to inſpect a pater-
" noſter, an ave-maria, the creed and a general
" confeſſion[f], written in this manner by the
" Indians:—To ſignify theſe words, *I a ſinner*
" *confeſs myſelf*, they painted an Indian on his
" knees before a religious in the act of one con-
" feſſing: and then for this, *To God almighty*,
" they painted three faces adorned with crowns,
" repreſenting the trinity; and, *To the glorious*
" *virgin Mary*, they delineated the viſage of our
" lady, with half a body, and the infant in her
" arms; *To St. Peter and St. Paul*, two heads ir-
" radiated, together with the keys and ſword, *&c.*—
" In Peru I have ſeen an Indian bring to the con-
" feſſional a confeſſion of all his ſins written in the
" ſame way, by picture and characters; portray-
" ing every one of the ten commandments after a
" certain manner[g]."

There

[f] *Acoſta's* words are, —— *y ſymbolo y la confeſſion general*, which Purchas has tranſlated,—*and ſymbol or general confeſſion of our faith.* This is wrong: by *la confeſſion general* is meant a general confeſſion of ſins, a formulary very different from the *creed.*

[g] Una de los de nueſtra Compañia de Jeſus, hombre muy platico y dieſtro, junto en la provincia de Mexico a los Ancianos de Tuſcuco, y de Tulla, y de Mexico, y confirio mucho con ellos, y le moſtraron ſus Librerias, y ſus Hiſtorias, y Kalendarios, coſa mucho de Ver. Porque tenian ſus figuras, y Hieroglyficas con que pintauam las coſas en eſta forma, que las coſas

que

UNIV. OF BYOH.

A Mexican Picture History of the 51 years Reign of their Monarch Tenuch. From Purchas.

J. Mynde fc.

There is yet extant a very curious ſpecimen of this american picture-writing, made by a mexican author; and deciphered by him in that language, after the Spaniards had taught him letters; the explanation was afterwards tranſlated into ſpaniſh, and, from thence, into engliſh. Purchas has given us this work engraved, and the explanations annexed. The manner of its coming into his hands is curious[h]. It is in three parts; the firſt is a hiſtory of

que tenian figuras, las ponian con ſus proprias Ymagines, y para las coſas que no auia Ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres ſignificativos de acquello, y con eſte modo figurauam quanto queriam — e yo he viſto para ſatisfazerme en eſta parte, las Oraciones del Pater Noſter, y Ave Maria, y Symbolo, y la Confeſſion general, en el modo dicho de Indios. —— Para ſignificar Aquella palabra, *Yo pecador me confieſſo*, pintan un Indio hincado de rodillas a los pies de un Religioſo; como que ſe confieſſa; y luego para aquella, *A Dios todo poderoſo*, pintan tres caras con ſus coronas, al modo de la Trinidad; y *a la glorioſa Virgen Maria*, pintan un roſtro de nueſtra Señora, y medio cuerpo con un Niño; y *a San Pedro y a San Pablo*, dos cabeças con coronas, y unas llaues, y una eſpada.—Por la miſma forma de pinturas y caracteres vi en el Piru eſcrite la confeſſion que de todos ſus pecados un Indio traya para confeſſarſe. Pintando cada uno de los diez mandamientos por cierto modo. — *lib.* vi. *cap.* 7.

[h] "Reader, I here preſent thee with the choiceſt of my jewels, "&c. ——— a politic, ethic, eccleſiaſtic, oeconomic hiſtory, "with juſt diſtinction of time. — The Spaniſh governor "having, with ſome difficulty, obtained the book of the In- "dians, with mexican interpretations of the pictures (but ten "days before the departure of the ſhips) committed the ſame "to one ſkilful in the mexican language, to be interpreted; "who in a very plain ſtile, and verbatim, performed the ſame. "This hiſtory thus written, ſent to Charles V. emperor, was, "together with the ſhip that carried it, taken by French men "of war; from whom Andrew Thevet the French king's "geographer obtained the ſame. After whoſe death maſter "Hakluyt (then chaplaine to the Engliſh embaſſadour in "France) bought the ſame for twenty French crowns; and "procured maſter Michael Locke, in Sir Walter Raleigh's "name,

of the mexican empire; the ſecond, a tribute roll, of the ſeveral tributes which each conquered town or province paid into the royal treaſury; and the third, a digeſt of their civil law; the largeſt branch of which was, *de jure patrio.*

This was the firſt, and moſt ſimple way of recording their conceptions [i]; obvious to every one, and common not only to the north as well as ſouth Americans, but to all mankind [k].

II.

But the inconveniencies attending the too great bulk of the volume in writings of this kind would ſoon ſet the more ingenious and better civi-

" name, to tranſlate it. It ſeems that none were willing to be " at the coſt of cutting the pictures, and ſo it remained " amongſt his papers till his death: whereby (according to his " laſt will in that kind) I became poſſeſſour thereof, and have " obtained, with much earneſtneſs, the cutting thereof for " the preſs." *Purchas's Pilgr.* 3d. part, p. 1065, 1066. See plate I.

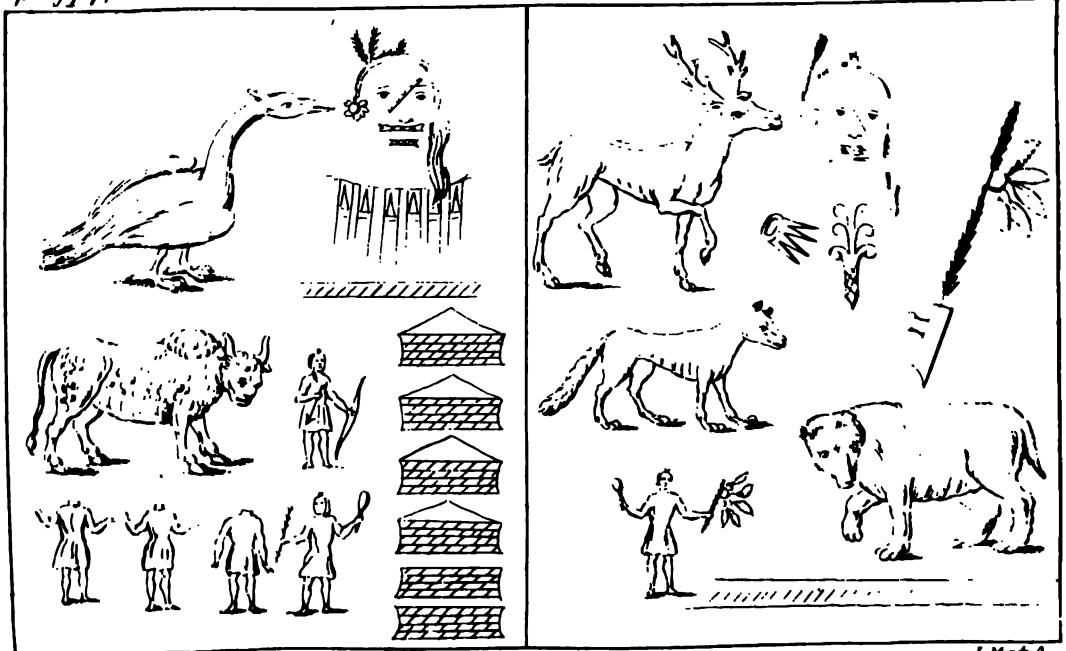
[i] Quant aux caracteres, ils n'en avoient point: et ils y ſuppleoient par des eſpeces d'hieroglyphes. Charlevoix of the northern Americans, vol. v. p. 292. Lafateau gives us a ſpecimen of theſe hieroglyphics. [See plate II.]

[k] The ſame kind of characters Strahlenberg found upon rocks in Siberia in the province of Permia, and near the river Jeneſei. Of which he has given a drawing. [See plate III.] The author *De vet. lit. Hunn. Scyth.* p. 15. ſeems to admire this natural expreſſion of things, as ſome uncommon ſtretch of invention. " Miratus ego ſæpe fui caupones idiotas (nempe in " Hungaria) iſtis, quibus aliquid credere hujuſmodi fictio cha- " ractere inter debitores non adſcribere tantum, ſed longioris " etiam temporis intervallo poſt, non ſecus, quam ſi alphabe- " thario ſcribendi genere adnotati fuiſſent, promere, debitamque " ſummam & rationes indicare potuiſſe; ita ſi debitor miles eſt, " rudi quadam linea frameam aut pugionem pingebant; ſi faber, " malleum aut ſecurim; ſi auriga, flagrum, atque ſic porro."

lized

facing p. 74 V. III.

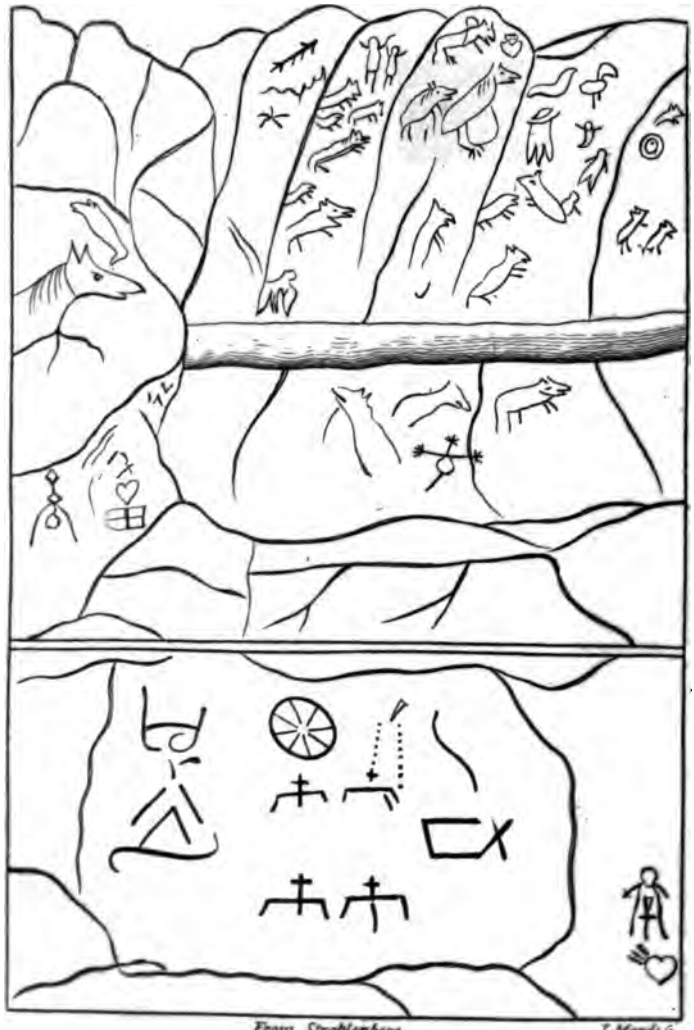
PLATE V.



From Lafiteau.

J. Mynde fc.

PLATE III.



From Strahlenberg.

J. Mynde fc.

UNIV OF MICH.

facing p. 75. V. III. PLATE IV.

Part of the North Side of

lized people upon contriving methods to abridge their characters: and of all the improvements of this kind, that which was invented by the EGYPTIANS, and called HIEROGLYPHICS, was by far the moſt celebrated. By this contrivance, that writing, which amongſt the Mexicans was only a ſimple painting, became in Egypt a pictured character [l].

This abridgment was of three kinds; and, as appears, from the more or leſs art, employed in the contrivance of each, made by due degrees; and at three different periods.

1. The firſt way was, *To make the principal circumſtance in the ſubject ſtand for the whole.* Thus when they would deſcribe a battle, or two armies in array, they painted (as we learn from that admirable fragment of antiquity, the hieroglyphics of Horapollo) *two hands, one holding a ſhield, and the other a bow* [m]; when a tumult, or popular inſurrection,—*an armed man caſting arrows* [n]; when a ſiege, —a *ſcaling ladder* [o]. This was of the utmoſt ſimplicity; and conſequently, we muſt ſuppoſe it the earlieſt way of turning painting into an hieroglyphic; that is, making it a picture-character. And this is what we ſhall hereafter diſtinguiſh by the name of the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

2. The ſecond, and more artful method of contraction, was by putting the inſtrument of the thing, whether real or metaphorical, for the thing itſelf. Thus an *eye*, eminently placed, was de-

[l] See plate IV.

[m] *Horapoll. Hierogl.* lib. ii. cap. 5. Ed. Corn. De Pauw, Traj. ad Rhen. 1727. 4to.

[n] Id. l. ii. c. 12.

[o] Id. l. ii. c. 28.

ſigned to repreſent God's omniſcience [p]; an *eye and ſceptre*, to repreſent a monarch [q]; a *ſword*, their cruel tyrant Ochus [r]; and a *ſhip and pilot*, the governor of the univerſe [s]. And this is what we ſhall call the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC.

3. Their

[p] *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. v.
[q] *Plutarch. Iſ. & Oſir.*
[r] Id. ib.

[s] *Jamblichus.* The *ſhip and pilot*, bearing this ſignification, would, of courſe, be much uſed in the deſcriptions of their myſteries, in which, as we have ſhewn, the knowledge of the Governor of the univerſe was part of the ἀποῤῥητα; and ſo we find it more than once delineated in the *Bembine table*. Kircher, according to cuſtom, makes it full of ſublime knowledge; but the plain truth is no more than this above. — Tacitus, ſpeaking of the religion of the Suevians, ſays they worſhiped Iſis; he could not conceive how this came about, only the figure of a galley, under which image ſhe was repreſented, ſhewed that the worſhip was imported from abroad. "Pars ſuevorum & ISIDI ſacrificat: unde cauſa & origo peregrino ſacro, parum comperi, *niſi quod* ſignum ipſum, in modum LIBURNÆ figuratum, docet advectam religionem." *De Morib. Germ.* c. ix. The latter part of which period Mr. Gordon has thus tranſlated, *unleſs the figure of her image formed like a galley ſhewed, &c.* But *niſi quod* does not ſignify *unleſs*, as implying any doubt, but *ſaving only*. So the ſame author, *De Mor. Ger.* c. xxv. "Occidere ſolent non "diſciplina et ſeveritate, ſed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, "*niſi quod* impune." Tacitus could tell no more of the original than this, that the worſhip of Iſis was imported, becauſe her image was made in the figure of a galley. In this he was poſitive: but for all this, not the leſs miſtaken. It was indeed imported; but the galley was no mark of that original. Strabo tells us, in his fourth book, that, in an iſland near Britain, they performed the ſame myſterious rites to Ceres and Proſerpine as were uſed in Samothrace. Ceres and Iſis were the ſame. The phenician ſeamen, without doubt, brought them thither, as likewiſe to the Suevians inhabiting the coaſts of the german ocean. The governor of the univerſe was taught in theſe myſteries. Iſis was repreſented by the later Egyptians to be the governor of the univerſe, as we have ſeen before, in a diſcourſe on the metamorphoſis of Apuleius. But the governor of the univerſe was delineated, in their hieroglyphics, by a *ſhip and pilot*. Hence, amongſt the Suevians, Iſis was worſhiped under the

form

3. Their third, and ſtill more artificial method of abridging picture-writing, was, *by making one thing to ſtand for, or repreſent another, where any quaint reſemblance or analogy, in the repreſentative, could be collected from their obſervations of nature, or their traditional ſuperſtitions.* And this was their SYMBOLIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

Sometimes it was founded in their obſervations on the form, or on the real or imaginary natures and qualities, of Beings. Thus the univerſe was deſigned by a *ſerpent in a circle*, whoſe variegated ſpots ſignified the ſtars[t]; and the ſun-riſe by the *two eyes of the crocodile*, becauſe they ſeem to emerge from its head[u]; a widow who never admits a ſecond mate, by a *black pigeon*[x]; one dead of a fever, contracted by the over great ſolar heat, by a *blind ſcarabæus*[y]; a client flying for relief to his patron, and finding none, by a *ſparrow and owl*[z]; a king inexorable, and eſtranged from his people, by an *eagle*[a]; a man who expoſes his children through poverty, by an *hawk*[b]; a wife who hates her huſband, or children who injure their mother, by a *viper*[c]; one initiated into the myſteries, and ſo

form of a *galley*, and not becauſe her religion was of foreign growth: And ſo amongſt the Romans, which Tacitus did not advert to. For in the *calendarium ruſticum* amongſt the inſcriptions of Gruter, in the month of March, an egyptian holyday is marked under the title of ISIDIS NAVIGIUM. The ceremonies on this holyday are deſcribed in *Apuleius Met.* l. ii. —— It was a feſtival of very high antiquity amongſt the Egyptians; and ſeems to be alluded to in theſe words of the Prophet Iſaiah:—*Wo to the land* ſhadowing with wings—*that ſendeth ambaſſadours by the ſea even in* VESSELS OF BULRUSHES *upon the waters, ſaying, Go ye ſwift meſſengers, &c.* chap. xviii. ver. 1, 2.

[t] *Horap. Hierogl.* l. i. c. 2. [u] l. i. c. 68.
[x] l. ii. c. 32. [y] l. ii. c. 41. [z] l. ii. c. 51.
[a] l. ii. c. 56. [b] l. ii. c. 59. [c] l. ii c. 59 & 60.

under

under the obligation of ſecrecy, by a *graſhopper*[d], which was thought to have no mouth.

Sometimes again, this kind of hieroglyphic was derived from the popular ſuperſtition. Thus he who had borne his misfortunes with courage, and had at length ſurmounted them, was ſignified by the *hyæna*[e], becauſe the ſkin of that animal, uſed as a defence in battle, was ſuppoſed to make the wearer fearleſs and invulnerable.

But it is not from analogy alone (the force of which will be ſeen more fully as we proceed) nor yet from the nature of the thing only (which in theſe enquiries is indeed the ſafeſt guide) that we conclude, the hieroglyphics now deſcribed to be an improvement of an earlier picture-writing uſed by the Egyptians, and reſembling that of the Americans. Ancient hiſtory records the fact. We are told, in that exquiſite fragment of Sanchoniatho, preſerved by Euſebius, that "the God "Taautus, having imitated Ouranus's art of "picture-writing[f], drew the portraits of the Gods "Cronus, Dagon, and the reſt, and delineated "the ſacred characters which formed the elements "of this kind of writing[g]: for Cronus, par-

"ticularly,

[d] l. ii. c. 55. [e] l. ii. c. 72.

[f] The original is Πρὸ δὲ τούτων Θεὸς Τάαυτος μιμησάμενος τὴν Οὐρανοῦ, which Vigerus thus tranſlates, *Taautus vero Deus cum jam ante cæli imaginem effinxiſſet*; and Cumberland, *But before theſe things the god Taautus having formerly imitated or repreſented Ouranus:* — This is wrong, μιμησαμενος τὴν Οὐρανοῦ ſignifies here, imitating the art, or practice, or example of Ouranus; not painting his figure. So *Plutarch. de Fort. Alex.* Ἡρακλέα ΜΙΜΟΥΜΑΙ καὶ Περσέα ζηλῶ.

[g] The original is καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διεῖπωσιν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας. There is a ſmall fault in this reading; it ſhould be

" ticularly, he imagined these symbols of royalty, " four eyes, two before, and two behind; of " which, two were closed in slumber; and on his " shoulders four wings, two stretched out, as in " the act of flight, and two contracted, as in re- " pose. The first symbol signified that Cronus " watched tho' he reposed, and reposed tho' he " watched; the second symbol of the wings signi- " fied, in like manner, that even when station'd

be τοὺς ΤΕ ἱερὰς, with the conjunction: The corruption helped to mislead Cumberland, who translates,—*and formed the sacred characters of the other elements*; [p. 38 of his *Sanchoniatho's Phenician history*] which looks as if the learned prelate understood by στοιχείων, the *elements of nature*; *Cœlum* or *Ouranos* having (as he supposed) been mentioned before, as delineated or engraved by Taautus: but ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ signifies the elements of hieroglyphic writing, and λοιπῶν refers not to that, but to θεῶν just above; which further appears from what follows —— τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, otherwise, only Dagon is left, for these words, τοῖς λοιποῖς θεοῖς to be applied to.—Sanchoniatho had said that Taautus represented the gods in a new invented hieroglyphic character; and then goes on to tell us that he invented other hieroglyphic characters, whether by figures or marks; for I apprehend that ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας principally designs that part of hieroglyphic writing which was by mark, not figures: for without doubt, at first *, the Egyptians used the same method as the Mexicans, who, we are told, expressed in their hieroglyphic writing, those things which had form, by figures; others by arbitrary marks. See p. 72, note (ε). But we shall see, that when the Egyptians employed this writing for the vehicle of their secrets, they then invented the forms of things to express abstract ideas. However, that this is the meaning of στοιχείων is further evident from this place of Eusebius, where he speaks of a quotation of Philo's, from a work of Sanchoniatho, concerning the phenician elements, Φοινίκων στοιχείων; which work, as appears by his account of the quotation, treated of the nature of several animals. But we have shewn how much the study of natural history contributed to the composition of hieroglyphic characters.

* This Eustathius intimates in these words, speaking of the most ancient egyptian hieroglyphics,——ξώδιά τινα ἱερογλυφῶντες, ἢ λοιπὰς δὲ χαρακτῆρας ἐξ σημασίας ὧν μέγιστον ἐθάλοντο. —— in *Iliad.* vi. *ver.* 168.

" he

" he flew about, and when flying, he yet re-
" mained ſtationed. To each of the other gods
" he gave two wings on their ſhoulders, as the
" ſatellites of Cronus in his excurſions; who had
" likewiſe two wings on his head, to denote the
" two principles of the mind, *reaſon* and *paſſion* [h]."
Here we ſee that Ouranus practiſed a kind of picture-writing, which Taautus afterwards improved: Taautus, or Thoth, was the egyptian Mercury; on which name and family, all the inventions of the various kinds of writing were very liberally beſtowed: this, here mentioned, as the improvement of Taautus, being the very hieroglyphics above deſcribed; and that, as before practiſed by Ouranus, the ſame with the ſimple american paintings.

Such then was the ancient egyptian hieroglyphic [i]; and this the ſecond mode of invention for recording

[h] Πρὸ δὲ τούτων θεὸς Τάαυτος μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν, τῶν θεῶν ὄψεις, Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Δαγὼνι, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διεῖπωσεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας· ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας, ἡμμαῖα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν· δύο δὲ ἡσυχῇ μένοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα· δύο μὲν ὡς ἱπτάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα. τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρονος κοιμώμενος ἔλειπε, καὶ ἐγρηγορὼς ἐκοιμᾶτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἀναπαυόμενος ἵπταιτο, καὶ ἱπτάμενος ἀνεπαύετο· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἑκάστῳ πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, ὡς ὅτι δὴ συνίπταιτο τῷ Κρόνῳ· καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πτερὰ δύο· ἓν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ, καὶ ἓν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως. *Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. 10.

[i] At the time this account was firſt given to the public, the learned Dr. Richard Pococke coming freſh from Egypt, thought it incumbent on him to contradict that egyptian learning which was only conceived at home. But as, by a common practice of prudent men, he had not mentioned me by name, it was thought I had no right to reply. Let the reader judge of one, by the other.—This learned and indeed candid writer, in his book of travels, has a chapter, *On the ancient hieroglyphics of Egypt*; in which

recording mens actions and conceptions; not, as hath been hitherto thought, a device of choice for

which he expreſſeth himſelf as follows.——"If hieroglyphical "figures ſtood for words or ſounds that ſignified certain things, "the power of hieroglyphics ſeems to be the ſame as of a "number of letters compoſing ſuch a ſound, that by agree-"ment was made to ſignify ſuch a thing. For hieroglyphics, "as words, ſeem to have ſtood for ſounds, and ſounds ſignify "things; as for inſtance, it might have been agreed that the "figure of a crocodile might ſtand for the ſound that meant "what we call malice: the children of the prieſts were early "taught that the figure of a crocodile ſtood for ſuch a ſound, "and, if they did not know the meaning of the ſound, it "would certainly ſtand with them for a ſound; though, as "the ſound, it ſignified alſo a quality or thing; and they "might afterwards be taught the meaning of this ſound; as "words are only ſounds, which ſounds we agree ſhall ſignify "ſuch and ſuch things; ſo that, to children, words only ſtand "for ſounds, which relate to ſuch things as they know nothing "of; and, in this ſenſe, we ſay children learn many things "like parrots, what they do not underſtand, and their memo-"ries are exerciſed only about ſounds, till they are inſtructed "in the meaning of the words. This I thought it might be "proper to obſerve, AS SOME SAY HIEROGLYPHICS STOOD "FOR THINGS AND NOT FOR WORDS, — if ſounds articu-"lated in a certain manner are words. And tho' it may be "ſaid, that in this caſe, when different nations, of different "languages, agree on common characters, that ſtand for cer-"tain things they agree on, that then ſuch figures ſtand for "things: this will be allowed; but then they ſtand for ſounds "too, that is, the ſounds in each language that ſignify ſuch "things: and, as obſerved before, to children, who know "nothing of the ſeveral things they ſtand for, to them they "are only marks that expreſs ſuch and ſuch ſounds: ſo that "theſe figures ſtand not for things alone, but as words, for "ſounds and things *."

The deſign of this paſſage, the reader ſees, is to oppoſe the principle I went upon, in explaining the nature of egyptian hieroglyphics, *that they ſtood for things, and not for words*. But that is all one ſees; for the learned writer's expreſſion conforming to his ideas, will not ſuffer us to do more than gueſs at the

* Pag. 228, 229. of a book intitled, *A deſcription of the Eaſt*, &c.

for ſecrecy, but an expedient of neceſſity, for popular uſe.

III. But

proof which he advances: it looks, however, like this,—That hieroglyphics cannot be ſaid to ſtand for things only; becauſe things being denoted by words or ſounds; and hieroglyphics exciting the idea of ſounds (which are the notes of things) as well as the idea of the things themſelves, hieroglyphics ſtand both for ſounds and things.—This ſeems to be the argument put into common engliſh. But, for fear of miſtaking him, let us confine ourſelves to his own words.

If hieroglyphical figures (ſays he) *ſtood for words or ſounds that ſignified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics, ſeems to be the ſame as of a number of letters compoſing ſuch a ſound that by agreement was made to ſignify ſuch a thing.* Without doubt, if hieroglyphics ſtood for ſounds, they were of the nature of words, which ſtand for ſounds. But this is only an hypothetical propoſition: let us ſee therefore how he addreſſes himſelf to prove it. —*For hieroglyphics,* AS WORDS, *ſeem to have ſtood for ſounds, and ſounds ſignify things; as for inſtance, it* MIGHT *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *ſtand for the ſame ſound that meant what we call malice.* The propriety of the expreſſion is ſuited to the force of the reaſoning. 1. Inſtead of ſaying, *but hieroglyphics,* the learned writer ſays, *for hieroglyphics;* which not expreſſing an illation, but implying a reaſon, obſcures the argument he would illuſtrate. 2. He ſays, *Hieroglyphics, as words, ſeem to have ſtood for ſounds.* Juſt before he ſaid, *hieroglyphics ſtood for words* OR *ſounds.* Here they are AS *words,* or, *like words,* and *ſeem to ſtand* FOR *ſound.* What are we to take them for? are words ſound? or, do they ſtand for ſound? He has given us our choice. But we go on. 3. For, he corroborates this ſeeming truth by an inſtance, in which the poſſibility of its ſtanding for a ſound is made a proof of its ſo doing. *It* MIGHT (ſays he) *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *ſtand, &c.*

But he is leſs diffident in what follows. *The children of the prieſts were early taught that the figure of a crocodile ſtood for ſuch a ſound, and if they did not know the meaning of the ſound, it would certainly ſtand with them for a ſound.* This indeed is an anecdote: but where did he learn that the children, before they could decipher the ſounds of their own language, were taught hieroglyphics? 'Till now, hieroglyphics, when got into excluſive hands, were underſtood to be reſerved for thoſe inſtructed in high

III.

But the obſcurity which attended the ſcantineſs of hieroglyphic characters, joined to the enormous

high and myſterious ſcience. But let us ſuppoſe that they were taught to children amongſt their firſt elements: yet even then, as we ſhall ſee from the nature of the thing, they could never ſtand as marks for words or ſounds. When a child is taught the power of letters, he learns that the letters, which compoſe the word, *malice*, for inſtance, expreſs the *ſound:* which, naturally ariſing from a combination of the ſeveral powers of each letter, ſhews him that the letters ſtand for ſuch a ſound or word. But when he is taught that the figure or picture of a crocodile ſignifies *malice*, he as naturally and neceſſarily conceives (tho' he knows not the meaning of the word) that it ſtands for ſome *thing*, ſignified by that word, and not for a *ſound:* becauſe there is no natural connexion between *figure* and a *ſound*, as there is between *figure* and a *thing*. And the only reaſon why the word *malice* intervenes, in this connexion, is becauſe of the neceſſity of the uſe of words to diſtinguiſh things, and rank them into ſorts. But the verieſt child could never be ſo ſimple as to conceive that, when he was told the figure of a beaſt with four ſhort legs and a long tail ſignified *malice*, that it ſignified the *ſound* of *malice* any more than if he were told it ſignified a *crocodile*, that it ſignified the *ſound* of the word *crocodile*. The truth is, the ignorant often miſtake words for things, but never, things for words: that is, they frequently miſtake the name of a thing for its nature; and reſt contented in the knowledge which that gives them: Like him who, on the ſight of a pictured elephant, inquiring what the creature was, on his being anſwered, that it was the *great Czar*, aſked no further, but went away well ſatisfied in his acquaintance with that illuſtrious Stranger. Yet I apprehend he did not underſtand his informer to mean that it ſignified only the ſound of that word. Perhaps the learned writer will object, that the caſes are different; that the *elephant* was a mere picture, and the *crocodile* a ſign or mark. But I have ſhewn at large that the ancient egyptian hieroglyphics were at firſt mere pictures; and that all the alteration they received, in becoming marks, was only the having their general uſe of conveying knowledge rendered more extenſive and expeditious, more myſterious and profound; while they ſtill continued to be the marks of *things*.

To proceed; our author conſiders next what he apprehends may be thought an objection to his opinion. *And tho'* (ſays he)

enormous bulk of picture volumes, ſet men upon contriving a third change in this kind of writing: of

he) *it may be ſaid that, in this caſe, where different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that ſtand for certain things they agree on, that then ſuch figures ſtand for things.* To which he anſwers, *This will be allowed; but then they ſtand for ſounds too, that is, the ſounds in each language that ſignify ſuch things.* He who can grant ſo much, and without injury to his ſyſtem, need be under no fear of ever giving his adverſary advantages. He may, if he pleaſes, ſay next, when diſputing about the colour of an object, — *that it is black, will be allowed; but then it is white too.* For a mark for *things* can no more be a mark for *ſounds*, then *black* can be *white*. The reaſon is the ſame in both caſes; one quality or property excludes the other: thus, if hieroglyphic marks ſtand for *things*, and are uſed as common characters by various nations differing in ſpeech and language, they cannot ſtand for *ſounds*; becauſe theſe men expreſs the ſame *thing* by different ſounds; unleſs, to remove this difficulty, he will go farther, and ſay, not, as he did before, that one *hieroglyphic word* (to uſe his own language) ſtood for one ſound, but, that it ſtands for an hundred. Again, if hieroglyphic marks ſtand for *ſounds*, they cannot ſtand for *things*: not thoſe things which are not ſignified by ſuch ſounds; this he himſelf will allow: nor yet, I affirm, for thoſe which are thus ſignified; becauſe it is the ſound which ſtands for the thing ſignified by the ſound, and not the hieroglyphic mark. But all this miſtake proceeded from another, namely, *that* WORDS *ſtand both for ſounds and things*, which we now come to. For he concludes thus, *So that theſe figures* (viz. *hieroglyphics*) *ſtand not for things alone, but,* AS WORDS, *for ſounds and things.* An unhappy illuſtration! which has all the defects, both in point of meaning and expreſſion, that a propoſition can well have. For, if by *words*, be meant *articulated ſounds*, then the expreſſion labours in the ſenſe, as affirming, that ſounds ſtand for ſounds. And that he meant ſo is poſſible, becauſe in the beginning of the paſſage quoted, he uſes words for articulate ſounds.—*Hieroglyphics*, ſays he, *ſtood for words* OR *ſounds.* But if, by words, he meant letters, (and that he might mean ſo is poſſible likewiſe, for he preſently afterwards uſes words in that ſenſe too.—*Hieroglyphics, as words*, ſays he, *ſeem to have ſtood for ſounds*) then the propoſition is only falſe: the plain truth being this, letters ſtand for ſounds only; which ſounds they naturally produce; as ſounds arbitrarily denote things.

of which the CHINESE have given us a famous example.

We have juſt obſerved, that the ancient egyptian hieroglyphic was an improvement on a yet more ancient manner, reſembling the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans; and that it joined contracted and arbitrarily inſtituted marks to images. The CHI-

But to be a little more particular; as in this diſtinction lies the judgment which is to be made, if ever it be rightly made, of the controverſy between us. All this confuſion of counter-reaſoning proceeds, as we obſerved before, Firſt, from not reflecting that letters, which ſtand for words, *have not*, and hieroglyphics, which ſtand for things, once *had not*, an arbitrary, but a natural deſignation. For, as the powers of letters naturally produce words or ſounds, ſo the figures of hieroglyphics naturally ſignify things: either more ſimply, by repreſentation, or more artificially by analogy: Secondly, from his not conſidering, that as we cannot think nor converſe about things either accurately or intelligibly without words, ſo their intervention becomes neceſſary in explaining the marks of things. But therefore, to make hieroglyphics the marks of ſounds, becauſe ſounds accompany things, would be as abſurd as to make letters the marks of things, becauſe things accompany ſounds. And who, before our author, would ſay that *letters ſignified things as well as ſounds?* unleſs he had a mind to confound all meaning. If he choſe to inſtruct, or even to be underſtood, he would ſay, that letters naturally produced ſounds or words; and that words arbitrarily denoted things: and had our author ſpoken the ſame intelligible language, and told us that hieroglyphics naturally expreſſed things, and that things were arbitrarily denoted by words, he would indeed have ſpared both of us the preſent trouble; but then he had ſaid nothing new. As it is, I cannot but ſuſpect that this learned writer, though he had been in Egypt, yet found his *hieroglyphics* at home; and miſtook theſe for the egyptian. No other agreeing with his deſcription of picture-characters ſtanding for *ſounds*, but that fooliſh kind of *rebus-writing* called by the polite vulgar, *hieroglyphics*, the childiſh amuſement of the illiterate; in which, indeed, the figures ſtand only for ſounds; ſounds, diveſted of *ſenſe* as well as *things*. Nor is Dr. Pococke the only *polite* writer who has fallen into this ridiculous miſtake. See a paper called THE WORLD, N°. XXIV.

NESE writing at length went ſtill further, it threw out the images, and retained only the marks; which they increaſed to a prodigious number: In this writing, every diſtinct idea has its proper mark; and is, like every real character, whether formed by *analogy* or *inſtitution*, common to divers neighbouring nations, of different languages [k]. The ſhapes and figures of ſeveral of theſe marks, however now diſguiſed, do yet betray their original to be from picture and images; as the reader may perceive, by caſting his eye on the ſpecimen given us by Kircher [l]: for, that it is only a more contracted and refined hieroglyphic, we have the

[k] — pero lo que ſe eſcrive en ella, en todas las lenguas ſe entiende, porque aunque las Provincias no ſe entienden de palabra unaes a otras, mas por eſcrito ſi, porque las letras o figuras ſon unas miſmas para todos, y ſignifican lo miſmo, mas no tinen el miſmo nombre ni prolacion, porque como he dicho ſon para denotar coſas y no palabras, aſſi como en el exemplo de los numeros de guariſmo que puſe, ſe puede facilmente entender. De aqui tambien procede, que ſiendo los Japones y Chinas, Naciones y lenguas tam differentes leen y entendien los unos las eſcrituras de los otros; y ſi hablas ſen lo que leen, o eſcriven, poco ni mucho no ſe entenderian. Eſtas pues ſon las letras y libros que uſan los Chinos tan afamados en el mundo, *&c.* *Acoſta*, lib. vi. cap. 5.

Les Caracteres de la Cochinchine, du Tongking, du Japon ſont les mêmes que ceux de la Chine, & ſignifient les mêmes choſes, ſans toutefois que ces Peuples en parlant, s'expriment de la même ſorte. Ainſi quoique les langues ſoint très-differentes, & qu'ils ne puiſſent pas s'entendre les uns les autres en parlant; ils s'entendent fort bien en s' ecrivant, & tous leurs Livres ſont communs. Ces Caracteres ſont en cela comme des Chiffres d'arithmetique: pluſieurs Nations s'en ſervent: on leur donne differens noms; mais ils ſignifient par tout la même choſe— l'on compte juſqu'à quatre-vingt mille de ces Caracteres. *Du Halde Deſcr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 226. fol. ed.

[l] *China illuſtrata*, p. 227. & *Oedipi Ægyptiaci Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, p. 12. See plate V.

con-

facing p.86. V. III.

PLATE. V.

A Specimen of the more modern Chinese *Characters taken from their more* ancient *The first row* modern *the Second* Antient correspondent to the first.
From Kirchers China Illustrata.

J. Mynde sc.

concurrent teſtimony of the beſt writers on the arts and manners of this famous people; who inform us how their preſent writing was deduced, thro' an earlier hieroglyphic, from the firſt ſimple way of painting the human conceptions [m].

But

[m] Primò ſiquidem ex omnibus rebus mundialibus primos *Sinas* characteres ſuos conſtruxiſſe, tum ex Chronicis ipſorum patet, tum ipſa characterum forma ſat ſuperque demonſtrat; ſiquidem non ſecus ac *Ægyptii* ex animalibus, volucribus, reptilibus, piſcibus, herbis, arborumque ramis, funiculis, filis, punctis, circulis, ſimilibuſque characteres ſuos, aliâ tamen & aliâ ratione diſpoſitos formabant. Poſteriores verò *Sinæ* rerum experientia doctiores, cum magnam in tanta animalium plantarumque congerie confuſionem viderent, characteres hujuſmodi variè figuratos, certis punctorum linearumque ductibus æmulati, in breviorem methodum concinnârunt, quâ & in hunc uſque diem utuntur.—Porro litteras *Sinæ* nulla ratione in Alphabeti morem, uti cæteris nationibus conſuetum eſt, diſpoſitas, neque voces ex literis & ſyllabis compoſitas habent, ſed ſinguli characteres ſingulis vocibus & nominibus reſpondent; adeoque tot characteribus opus habent, quot res ſunt, quas per conceptum mentis exponere volunt. *Kircheri China Illuſtrata*, p. 226.

Au lieu d'Alphabet ils ſe ſont ſervis au commencement de leur Monarchie, de *Hieroglyphes*. Ils on peint au lieu d'ecrire; & par les images naturelles des choſes qu'ils formoient ſur le papier ils tâchoient d'exprimer & de communiquer aux autres leurs idées. Ainſi pour écrire un oiſeau, ils en peignoient la figure; & pour ſignifier un foreſt, ils repreſentoient pluſieurs arbres; un cercle vouloit dire le Soleil, & un croiſſant la Lune. Cette maniere d'ecrire eſtoit non ſeulement imparfait, mais encore très-incommode.—Ainſi les Chinois changerent peu à peu leur ecriture, & compoſerent des figures plus ſimples, quoique moins naturelles, *&c.*—*Le Comte, Nouv. Memoires ſur l' Etat Preſent de la Chine*, Tome prem. p. 256. *Amſt.* 1698. 12mo.

Des le commencement de leur Monarchie, ils communiquoient leurs idées, en formant ſur la papier les images naturelles des choſes qu'ils vouloient exprimer: ils peignoient, par exemple, un oiſeau, des montagnes, des arbres, des lignes ondoyantes pour exprimer des oiſeaux, des montagnes, un forêt, & des rivieres. Cette maniere d'expliquer ſa penſée étoit fort imparfaite, & demandoit pluſieurs volumes pour exprimer aſſez peu

But it may be worth our while to conſider more particularly, the origine and introduction of theſe ARBITRARY MARKS; the laſt advance of hieroglyphics, towards *alphabetic writing*. We may obſerve that ſubſtances, and all viſible objects, were at firſt very naturally expreſſed by the images of the things themſelves; as moral modes and other ideal conceptions of the mind were more aptly repreſented by marks of arbitrary inſtitution: for it required variety of knowledge, and quickneſs of fancy to deſign theſe latter ideas by analogic or ſymbolic figures: which therefore can be ſuppoſed no other than an after-thought of a people more than ordinary ingenious, as the Egyptians, and who aiming to ſet a price upon their ingenuity, made their meaning myſterious and profound.

des choſes. D'ailleurs il y avoit une infinité d'objets, qui ne pouvoient être repreſentez par la peinture. — C'eſt pourquoi inſenſiblement ils changerent leur ancienne maniere d'ecrire: ils compoſerent des figures plus ſimples, & en inventerent pluſieurs autres, pour exprimer les objets qui ne tombent point ſous les ſens. Mais ces caracteres plus modernes ne laiſſent pas d'être encore de vrais Hieroglifes. Premierement parce qu'ils ſont compoſez de lettres ſimples, qui retiennent la même ſignification des caracteres primitifs: Autrefois, par exemple, ils repreſentoient ainſi le Soleil par un cercle ⊖ & l'appelloient *Gé*; ils le repreſentent maintenant par cette figure |Ξ, qu'ils nomment pareillement *Gé*. Secondement, parce que l'inſtitution des hommes a attaché à ces figures la même idée, que ces premiers Symboles preſentoient naturellement, & qu'il n'y a aucune lettre Chinoiſe qui n'ait ſa propre ſignification, lorſqu'on la joint avec d'autres. *Tſai*, par exemple, qui veut dire, *malheur*, calamité, eſt compoſé de la lettre *mien*, qui ſignifie *maiſon*, & de la lettre *bo*, qui ſignifie *feu*, parce que le plus grand malheur eſt devoir ſa maiſon en feu. On peut juger par ce ſeul exemple, que les caracteres Chinois n'étant pas des lettres ſimples, comme les notres, qui ſeparement ne ſignifient rien, & n'ont de ſens que quand elles ſont jointes enſemble; ce ſont autant de Hieroglifes, qui forment des images, & qui expriment les penſées. *Du Halde*, tom. ii. p. 227.

We

We ſhall ſee preſently, that as all nations, in their ruder ſtate, had hieroglyphic images or analogic or ſymbolic figures for marking things; ſo had they likewiſe ſimple characters or notes of arbitrary inſtitution, for *mental conceptions.* But, commonly that ſort only which they moſt cultivated, or for which they were principally famous, happened to be tranſmitted to poſterity. Thus the Mexicans are remembered for their hieroglyphic paintings only; and the Peruvians for their knotted cords. But we are not therefore to conclude that the mexican writing had no arbitrary marks[n], or that the Peruvians had no hieroglyphic paintings[o]. Real characters of both kinds had, at different periods, been cultivated in China, if we may credit the concurrent relations of the Miſſionaries. In ancient Egypt indeed, where hieroglyphic figures were ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated as to give that general name to real characters, the uſe of marks by inſtitution is more obſcurely noticed. And for this, a reaſon will be aſſigned. Martinus Martinius, in his hiſtory of China, tells us[p], they had two ſorts of characters; the one, marks by inſtitution, which had been ſubſtituted inſtead of knotted cords, once

[n] Joſeph Acoſta (as we ſee above) expreſsly ſays that "the "Mexicans repreſented thoſe things, which had bodily ſhape, "by their proper figures, and *thoſe which had none, by other* "*ſignificative characters:*" — las coſas que tenian figuras las ponian con ſus proprias ymagines; y para las coſas que no avia ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres ſignificativos de aquello.—

[o] The ſame Acoſta ſays expreſsly, that, beſides their *quippos* or ſtrings variouſly knotted and coloured, they had paintings like the Mexicans. l. vi. c. 8.

[p] Idem imperator [Fo-hi] Sinicos characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit, ſed ipſis nodis intricatiores. *Sin. hiſt.* l. i.

in

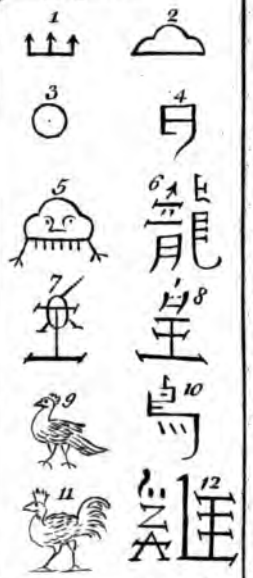
in uſe amongſt them, (as in Peru) but much more intricate than the peruvian knots: their other characters were figures reſembling the egyptian hieroglyphics, and repreſenting the *things* they were deſigned to expreſs. Now as the Chineſe improved in arts and empire, it is natural to ſuppoſe they would much increaſe their marks by inſtitution. The growing number of theſe characters, the ſciences to which they were applied, and their commodious and expeditious uſe, would tempt them even to change their analogic figures into marks by inſtitution, till their whole writing became of this ſort. It is now ſuch: and that the change was produced in the manner here repreſented, we may collect from the words and ſcheme of Martinius on the other ſide [9].

But to all this it may be ſaid, How then came it to paſs, that Egypt, which had the ſame imperial fortune in a long flouriſhing dominion, ſhould be ſo far from changing their analogic figures into arbitrary marks, that their arbitrary marks were almoſt loſt and abſorbed in analogic figures? For ſuch arbitrary marks they had, as we may collect from their monuments, where we find them intermixed with proper hieroglyphics; and from Apuleius, where we ſee them deſcribed in his account of the ſacred book or ritual of the myſteries of Iſis. "De opertis adyti profert quoſdam libros, litteris "ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim FIGURIS CU-"JUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, concepti ſermonis "compendioſa verba ſuggerentes; partim NODOSIS, "ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, capreola-"timque condenſis apicibus, a curioſitate profa-"norum lectione munita:" the very ſame ſpecies of

[9] See plate VI.

writing

facing p. 90. V. III.



From Martinius Martinius.

PLATE VI.

Hæc litera, 1. quæ montem significat, olim ita, 2. pingebatur. Sic solem eo modo exprimebant, quo Mathematicis hodie circulo medioque puncto, 3. describitur; nunc ista forma 4. effingunt. Draconis hæc 5. olim figura erat; hodie ita 6. formatur. Regis litera seu nomen sceptrum cum oculo, 7. referebat; nunc ita, 8. pingunt. Volucrem, gallinam, vel gallum, sua hoc est, nativa specie, 9. 11. repræsentabant; nunc bis ductibus, 10. 12. explicantur. Habeo penes me librum literis Sinicis ad sex diversos modos conscriptum, opus antiquissimum & rarum, Sinis ob vetustatem raritatemque magno semper in pretio habitum. In eo libro antiquæ literæ formam utcunque referunt earum, quas Romæ in obeliscis sæpe me videre memini.

J. Mynde sc.

UNIV. OF MICH.

writing with that of the Chineſe, deſcribed by Martinius, and almoſt in the ſame words: "Fohius "characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit; "ſed ipſis nodis intricatiores."

Now this oppoſite progreſs in the iſſue of hieroglyphic writing, in Egypt and China, may, I think, be eaſily accounted for by the different genius of the two people. The Egyptians were extremely inventive; and, what is often a conſequence of that humour, (tho' here other things contributed to promote it) much given to ſecrecy and myſterious conveyance. While the Chineſe are known to be the leaſt inventive people upon earth; and not much given to myſtery. This difference in the genius of the two nations would make all the difference in the progreſs of hieroglyphic writing amongſt them. I have obſerved that the eaſieſt, and moſt natural expreſſion of the abſtract conceptions of the mind, was by arbitrary marks: but yet the moſt ingenious way of repreſenting them was by analogic or ſymbolic figures; as omniſcience by an *eye*; ingratitude by a *viper*; impudence by the *river-horſe*. Now the Egyptians, who were of a lively imagination, and ſtudious of natural knowledge, tho' at firſt, like the Chineſe, they expreſſed mental ideas by arbitrary marks, yet, as they improved their inventive faculties by uſe, they fell naturally into this method of expreſſing them by analogic or ſymbolic figures; and their love of myſtery diſpoſed them to cultivate it: for theſe figures neceſſarily make the Character myſterious, as implying in the Inventor, and requiring in the Uſer a knowledge of phyſics; whereas arbitrary marks lie open to all, as requiring no knowledge but that of the inſtitution. Hence we have a plain reaſon how it happened, that the

Egyptian

Egyptian Hieroglyphics, from very early times, conſiſted principally of ſymbolic and analogic marks, and that thoſe Chineſe Hieroglyphics were turned altogether into marks by inſtitution. For as the Egyptians had ſoon learnt to expreſs abſtract ideas by analogic ſigns, ſo the Chineſe were at laſt drawn to expreſs even material things by arbitrary marks.

In a word, the Chineſe method of thus conducting hieroglyphic writing through all its changes and improvements, from a picture to a ſimple mark, was the occaſion that the Miſſionaries, who conſidered the hiſtory of their *writing* only by parts, have given us ſuch different accounts of it. Sometimes they repreſent it like the Mexican pictures; ſometimes like the knotted cords of the Peruvians; ſometimes as approaching to the characters found upon the egyptian obeliſques; and ſometimes again as of the nature of the arabic marks for numbers. But each man ſpeaks only of the monuments of which he himſelf had got information; and theſe differed according to their age and place. He, whoſe attention was taken up with the moſt ancient only of the chineſe monuments, did not heſitate to pronounce them hieroglyphics, like the Egyptian; becauſe he ſaw them to be analogic or ſymbolic ſigns, like the Egyptian: he who conſidered only the characters of later uſe denied them to be like the Egyptian, becauſe he found them to be only marks by inſtitution.

Theſe imperfect accounts have miſled the learned into ſeveral miſtakes concerning the general nature and uſe of Hieroglyphics themſelves. Some ſuppoſing it of their nature to be *obvious marks* of inſtitution; and others, that it required a very *comprehenſive*

prehenſive knowledge of phyſics to be able to compoſe them.

Mr. Freret ſpeaking of the Chineſe characters, ſays, " Selon eux [les chinois] ces anciens caractéres, " etoient tous fondés ſur des raiſons philoſophiques. " Ils exprimoient la nature des choſes qu'ils ſigni- " fioient : ou du moins la determinoient en déſig- " nant les rapports de ces mêmes choſes avec " d'autres mieux connues [r]." But he doubts whether entire credit is to be given to their accounts; for he obſerves that " La conſtruction d'une pa- " reille langue demande une parfaite connoiſſance " de la nature et de l'ordre des idées qu'il faut " exprimer, c'eſt à-dire, *une bonne metaphyſique*, " et, peut-être même *un ſyſteme complet de philo-* " *ſophie.* --- Les chinois n'ont jamais eu rien de " pareil." He concludes therefore, that the Chineſe hieroglyphics " n'ont jamais eu qu'un rap- " port d'INSTITUTION avec leſs choſes qu'elles ſig- " nifient." This is ſtrange reaſoning. To know whether the ancient Chineſe characters were founded on philoſophic relations, does not depend on their having a true ſyſtem of phyſics and metaphyſics, but on their having a ſyſtem ſimply, whether true or falſe, to which to adapt thoſe Characters: Thus, that part of the Egyptian phyſics which taught, that the viper tore its way through its mother's entrails, and that the ſkin of the hyæna preſerved the wearer invulnerable, ſerved full as well for hieroglyphical uſes, as the ſoundeſt part of their aſtronomy, which placed the ſun in the center of its ſyſtem.

Again, others have denied the Chineſe characters to be properly Hieroglyphics, becauſe they are ar-

[r] Mem. de l'Acad. tom. vi. p. 609.

bitrary

bitrary marks and not analogical. P. Parennin ſays, " Les caracteres chinois ne ſont hieroglyphes " qu' improprement. —— Ce ſont des ſignes *arbi-* " *traires* qui nous donnent l'idée d'une choſe, non " par aucun rapport qu'ils aient avec la choſe ſig- " nifiée, mais parce qu'on a voulu par tel ſigne ſig- " nifier telle choſe.---En eſt-il de même des hiero- " glyphes Egyptiens?" P. Gaubil ſays,---" On voit " l'importance d'une hiſtoire critique ſur l'origine et " les changemens arrivés à pluſieurs caracteres chi- " nois qui ſont certainement hieroglyphes. D'un " autre côté, il y a des caracteres chinois, qui *cer-* " *tainement ne ſont pas hieroglyphes.* Une hiſtoire de " ceux ci ſeroit auſſi importante." Theſe Fathers, we ſee, ſuppoſe it eſſential to hieroglyphic cha- racters, that they be analogic or ſymbolic ſigns; and finding the more modern Chineſe writing to be chiefly compoſed of arbitrary marks, or ſigns by inſtitution, they concluded that the Chineſe cha- racters were not properly Hieroglyphics. Whereas, what truly denotes a writing to be hieroglyphical is, that its marks are ſigns for THINGS; what denotes a writing not to be hieroglyphical, is that its marks are ſigns for WORDS. Whether the marks be formed by *analogy* or *inſtitution* makes no altera- tion in the nature of the *writing*. If they be ſigns for *things*, they can be nothing but hieroglyphics; if they be ſigns for *words*, they may be, and I ſuppoſe always are, alphabetic characters; but never can be hieroglyphics. However, it is but juſtice to theſe learned Fathers to obſerve, that one of them, from whom the others might have profited, appears to have a much clearer conception of this matter. — " *La nature des* " *hieroglyphes* (ſays he) n'eſt pas d'être des figures " naturelles des choſes qu'ils ſignifient, mais ſeule- " ment de les repreſenter ou naturellement, ou " par

" par l'inſtitution des hommes. Or tous les let-
" tres chinoiſes, ou ſont des figures naturelles, com-
" me les anciennes, du ſoleil, de la lune, ou autres
" ſemblables, ou ſont des figures deſtinées pour ſig-
" nifier quelque choſe, comme ſont toutes celles qui
" ſignifient des choſes qui n'ont aucune figure;
" comme l'ame, la beauté, les vertus, les vices, et
" toutes les actions des hommes et des animaux[s]."

On the whole, therefore, we ſee that, before the inſtitution of letters to expreſs SOUNDS, all characters denoted only THINGS; 1. By *repreſentation.* 2. By *analogy* or *ſymbols.* 3. By *arbitrary inſtitution.* Amongſt the Mexicans, the firſt method was principally in uſe: The Egyptians chiefly cultivated the ſecond: And the Chineſe, in courſe of time, reduced almoſt all their characters to the third. But the empires of China and Egypt long flouriſhing in their different periods, had time and inclination to cultivate all the three ſpecies of hieroglyphic writing: only with this difference; the Egyptians beginning, like the Mexicans, with a picture, and being ingenious and much given to myſtery, cultivated a ſpecies of hieroglyphics moſt abounding in ſigns by analogy, or ſymbols; whereas the Chineſe, who ſet out like the Peruvians with a knotted cord[t], and were leſs inventive, and without a ſecret worſhip, cultivated

[s] P. Magaillans, relat. de la Chine.

[t] Les premiers inventeurs de l'écriture Chinoiſe, en s'attachant à des ſignes qui n'ont qu'un rapport d'inſtitution avec les choſes ſignifiées, ont ſuivi le génie de la nation Chinoiſe; qui même avant Fo-hi, c'eſt a dire, dans la plus profonde antiquité, ſe ſervoit de cordelettes nouées en guiſe d'écriture. *Mem. de l'Acad.* tom. vi. *Freret.*

that ſpecies which moſt abounds in marks of arbitrary inſtitution [a].

In

[a] It may not be improper, in this place, juſt to take notice of one of the ſtrangeſt fancies, that ever got poſſeſſion of the pericranium of an Antiquary. It is this, that the Chineſe borrowed their *real characters* or *hieroglyphic marks* from the Egyptians. The author of it expreſſes his conceit in this manner. —"Linguam autem primitivam & barbaram vel puram, vel ſaltem parum immutatam, et politam Ægyptiorum conſuetudine, retinere poterant [Sinenſes,] et ſolum hoc ſibi ab ipſis DERIVARE, ET ADOPTARE SCRIBENDI GENUS, ratione habita non ad linguam Ægyptiacam, ſed unice ad ideas his Characteribus expreſſas, quos et ſermonis ſui nativi, immo etiam et linguæ ſuæ ſyllabis ſeperatim ſumptis eodem tempore applicaverunt." *De Inſcr. Ægyptica Epiſt.* p. 53. *Authore Turbervil. Needham.*

From what hath been obſerved of the nature and origine of a REAL CHARACTER in general, ſupported by what the Chineſe tell us of the very high antiquity of theirs, it is impoſſible to fix upon any period of time when the Egyptians (whether invited, or ſimply enabled by their improvements in navigation and commerce to penetrate into China) could find this highly policied people without a *real character*.

The queſtion then will be, What poſſible inducements the Chineſe could have to exchange their *real characters*, for the Egyptian. Benefit by this change they could receive none, becauſe one *real character* is juſt as good as another: And men at their eaſe, are rarely diſpoſed to change native for foreign, but with the proſpect of ſome advantage. To this it may be ſaid, "that one *alphabetic character* likewiſe is juſt as good as another, and yet nothing has been more common than for one nation to change its own alphabet for the alphabet of another." An inſtance, without doubt, very appoſite. To change the ſhapes of four and twenty letters is but a morning's work; and I ſuppoſe a ſmall ſhare of civility and complaiſance might go thus far, between neighbours. But to throw away a million of *old* marks, and to have a million of *new* to learn, is an amuſement of quite another nature. I apprehend, that ſuch a propoſal (had the Egyptians made it, with an offer of all their learning along with it) would have much alarmed the indolent unenterpriſing temper of the Chineſe. But the Critic ſeems to think, that an old character, like an old coat, would be willingly exchanged for a new one. Alas! Time and Antiquity, which

make

In a word, all the barbarous nations upon earth, before the invention or introduction of letters,

make ſuch havock with *the muddy veſtures of decay*, give a new gloſs as well as a ſtronger texture, to the *ſpiritual cloathing* of ideas. And if their old characters were like any old coat, it muſt be ſuch a one as Settle wore in Elyſium; which, as the Poet ſings, had, together with its owner, received a new luſtre in this its ſtate of beatification.

"All as the Veſt, appear'd the Wearer's frame,
"Old in new ſtate, another yet the ſame."

The truth is, the Chineſe, who have preſerved ſpecimens of all the various revolutions in their *real characters*, have the higheſt veneration for the moſt ancient. Now is it poſſible to conceive that a people thus circumſtanced and diſpoſed, ſhould part with their native characters, the gift of their Demy-gods and Heroes, to receive others, of the ſame ſort, from ſtrangers; recommendable for no advantage which their own did not poſſeſs, and partaking of all the inconveniencies to which their own were ſubject. Had the Egyptians indeed offered them an ALPHABET, (which, were they diſpoſed to be ſo communicative, we know, they had it in their power to do, at what time ſoever it can be *reaſonably* ſuppoſed they firſt viſited the coaſts of China) the offer had been humane, and, without doubt, the benefit had been gratefully accepted. But that the Egyptians did nothing of all this, appears from the Chineſe being without an ALPHABET to this very day. And yet I am perſuaded, it was the confounding of theſe two things, one of which was practicable and uſeful, the other uſeleſs and impracticable, I mean the communication of an Alphabet, which was common in the ancient world; and the communication of a real Character, which was never heard of till now,—I ſay, it was the confounding of theſe two things that gave birth to this ſtrange conceit. And then the ſimilitude of ſhape between the Egyptian and the Chineſe *marks*, was thought to compleat the diſcovery. The Letter-writer did not ſeem to reflect, that the ſhapes of *real characters*, after great improvements made in them by a long courſe of time, ſuch as the Egyptian and the Chineſe, muſt needs have a great reſemblance, whether the characters were formed by ANALOGY or INSTITUTION. In the firſt caſe, *nature* made the reſemblance, as being the common archetype to both nations. In the latter, *neceſſity*, for only ſtraight and crooked lines being employed to form theſe marks, there muſt needs ariſe from a combination of ſuch lines infinitely varied, a ſtriking reſemblance between the *real characters* of two

ters, made uſe of Hieroglyphics, or ſigns for things, to record their meaning: the more groſs, by *repreſentation*; the more ſubtile and civilized, by *analogy* and *inſtitution*.

Thus

people, tho' moſt diſtant in genius and ſituation. But the folly, which ſuch Conjecturers are apt to fall into is, that if the *forms* of the marks be alike, the *powers* muſt be alike alſo.

What is here ſaid, will enable us likewiſe to appreciate another ingenious contrivance of one *M. de Guignes of the Academy Royal of Inſcriptions, &c.* to get to the ſame diſcovery. Upon a ſuppoſition of the truth of what I had laid down, that the firſt Egyptian alphabet was taken from their hieroglyphic characters *, this Academician fell to work, to ANALYSE, as he terms it, the Chineſe characters; when, to his great ſurpriſe, he found, that their contents were only a certain number of LETTERS belonging to the Oriental *Alphabets*, packed up, as it were for carriage: which, when taken out, developed, and put in order, formed an Egyptian or Phenician *word*, that expreſſed the idea for which the Chineſe *real Character* ſtood, as its Repreſentative. How precarious, and of how little ſolidity this fanciful Analyſis is, may be underſtood by all who have ſeen theſe *Chineſe marks* and *Oriental alphabets*; both of which conſiſt of the ſame ſtrait and curve lines variouſly combined; ſo that it cannot be otherwiſe but that in every Chineſe mark ſhould be found, that is, eaſily imagined, a compoſition of any alphabetic letters which the profound Decipherer ſtands in need of. But the pleaſantry of the conceit lies here, that tho' the Chineſe have alphabetic characters (which this ingenious Author has, with great aſtoniſhment, now firſt diſcovered) yet they themſelves know nothing of the matter, as he at the ſame time has aſſured us †.

* M. Warburton avoit penſé que le premier Alphabet avoit emprunté ſes elemens des Hieroglyphes mêmes; et M. l' Abbé Barthelemy avoit mis cetté excellente théorie dans un plus grand jour, en plaçant ſur une colonne diverſes lettres Egyptiennes, en correſpondance avec les Hieroglyphes qui les avoient produits. On pouvoit donc preſumer que *les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois* les caracteres que je venois de decouvrir, mais qu'ils les regardoient eux-mêmes alors comme des ſignes Hieroglyphiques, & non comme des lettres proprement dites.—De l' *Origine des Chinois*, p. 63—4.

† Les caracteres Chinoiſe dans l'etat où nous les avons à preſent, conſtituent trois ſortes de caracteres; l'Epiſtolique ou ALPHABETIQUE, le hieroglyphique & le ſymbolique: c'eſt un nouveau rapport des plus ſinguliers avec l'Egypte, *qui n'a point eté connu juſque* à preſent, QUE LES CHINOIS EUX-MEMES IGNORENT, et qui me jette dans le plus grand étonnement, un examen attentif—me l' a fait connoitre, &c. Mem. de Lit. Tom. 29. p. 13.

I might

THUS we have brought down the general hiſtory of writing, by a gradual and eaſy deſcent, from a PICTURE to a LETTER; for chineſe marks which participate of egyptian hieroglyphics on the one hand, and of alphabetic letters on the other (juſt as thoſe hieroglyphics partook equally of Mexican pictures and Chineſe characters) are on the very border of letters; an ALPHABET invented to expreſs *ſounds* inſtead of *things* being only a compendium of that large volume of arbitrary marks.

Some alphabets, as the Ethiopic and Coptic [x], have taken in hieroglyphic figures to compoſe their

I might likewiſe inſiſt upon this ſcheme's labouring under the ſame abſurdity with M. Needham's. For tho' when M. de Guignes ſpeaks of that part of the Chineſe real character whoſe marks are *ſymbolic*, or formed upon analogy, p. 71—2. he is willing to have it believed, (what his title-page enounces) that China was inhabited by an egyptian Colony, which carried along with them, the Hieroglyphics they now uſe; yet where he examines that other part, conſiſting of arbitrary marks, or marks by inſtitution, p. 64. & ſeq. he ſuppoſes them, as we ſee above, communicated to the Chineſe by the Egyptians.—*On pouvoit donc preſumer* (ſays he) *que les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois les caracteres que je viens de decouvrir.*

To conclude, the learned world abounds with diſcoveries of this kind. They have all one common Original; the old inveterate error, that a ſimilitude of cuſtoms and manners, amongſt the various tribes of mankind moſt remote from one another, muſt needs ariſe from ſome communication. Whereas human nature, without any other help, will, in the ſame circumſtances, always exhibit the ſame appearances.

[x] L'Alphabeth Ethiopien eſt de tous ceux que l'on connoît qui tient encore des Hieroglyphes. *Fourmont, Reflexions Crit. ſur les Hiſt. des Anc. Peuples*, tom. ſec. p. 501. *Kircher* illuſtrates this matter in his account of the coptic alphabet. But as on his ſyſtem every thing that relates to Egypt is a myſtery,

their letters; which appears both from their ſhapes and names. The ancient Egyptian did the ſame, as a learned french writer hath ſhewn in a very ingenious and convincing manner [y]. But this is ſeen

the ſhapes and names of the letters of their alphabet we may expect to find full of profound wiſdom: yet, methinks, nothing could be more natural, than for a people long uſed to hieroglyphic characters, to employ the moſt celebrated of them, when they invented an alphabet, in forming the letters of it: and if the Chineſe, who yet want an alphabet, were now to make one, it is not to be doubted but they would uſe the moſt venerable of their characteriſtic marks for the letters of it. However, let us hear Kircher for the fact's ſake: — Ita *Ægyptiis natura comparatum fuit, ut quemadmodum nihil in omnibus eorum inſtitutis ſine myſterio peragebatur, ita & in lingua communi, uti ex alphabeto eorundem, myſterioſa literarum inſtitutione ita concinnato, ut nulla ferè in eodem litera reconditorum ſacramentorum non undiquaque plena reperiretur,* patet. De primævis Ægyptiorum literis variæ diverſorum ſunt opiniones. *Omnes tamen in hoc conſentiunt pleraſque ex ſacrorum animalium forma, inceſſu, aliarumque corporis partium ſitibus & ſymmetria deſumptas.* Ita Demetrius Phalereus, qui ſeptem vocales aſſignans, ſeptem Diis conſecratas, ait, cæteras ex animalium formâ deſumptas. Euſebius adſtruit idem. —— *Theatr. Hierogl.* p. 42. tom. iii. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.* As for this fancy, mentioned by Demetrius Phalereus, it had a very different original from what Kircher ſuppoſes; being only an enigmatic intimation of the different natures of vowels and conſonants. The latter being brute ſounds without the aid of the former, by which they are as it were animated.

[y] — The very learned and illuſtrious author of a work intitled, *Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etruſques, Grecques et Romaines*, vol. i. M. the Count Caylus, after having confuted the idle conjectures of certain learned men concerning the contents of a ſepulchral linen, marked over with egyptian alphabetic characters, proceeds thus:—Il me ſemble qu'on tireroit de plus grands avantages de ce monument, ſi, au lieu de s'obſtiner à percer ces ténébres, on tâchoit, de remonter par ſon moyen à l'origine de l'écriture, et d'en ſuivre le developpement et les progres: ſi l'on cherchoit enfin à connoitre la forme des anciennes lettres, et le pays où l'on a commencé à les employer. Ces queſtions et tant d'autres ſemblables ne pourront jamais

être

ſeen even from the names which expreſs letters and literary-writing in the ancient languages: thus the

être eclaircies par les temoignages des auteurs Grecs et Latins. Souvent peu inſtruits des antiquites de leur pays, ils n'ont fait que recueillir des traditions incertains, et multiplier des doutes auxquels on prefereroit volontiers l'ignorance la plus profonde: c'eſt aux monumens qu'on doit recourir. Quand ils parleront clairement, il faudra bien que les anciens auteurs s'accordent avec eux. Avant le commencement de ce ſiécle on ne connoiſſoit point l'ecriture courante des Egyptiens, et pluſieurs critiques la confondoient tantôt avec celle des anciens Hebreux, et tantôt avec les hieroglyphes; mais depuis cette epoque il nous eſt venu pluſieurs fragmens, qui ont fixé nos idées; et il faut eſpérer que de nouvelles recherches nous en procureront un plus grand nombre. Conſervons avec ſoin des reſtes ſi précieux, et tachons de les mettre en oeuvre, en ſuivant l'exemple de celui des modernes qui a repandu les plus grandes lumieres ſur la queſtion de l'antiquité des lettres. M. Warburton a detruit l'erreur où l'on etoit que les prêtres Egyptiens avoient inventé les hieroglyphes pour cacher leur ſcience: il a diſtingué trois epoques principales dans l'art de ſe communiquer les idées par ecrit: ſous la premiere, l'ecriture n'etoit qu'une ſimple repreſentation des objets, une veritable peinture; ſous la ſeconde, elle ne conſiſtoit qu'en hieroglyphes, ceſt-a-dire, en une peinture abbrégée, qui, par example, au lieu de repreſenter un objet entier, n'en repreſentoit qu'une partie, un rapport, &c. Enfin ſous la troiſieme epoque, les hieroglyphes altérés dans leurs traits devinrent les élémens d'une écriture courante: M. Warburton auroit pû mettre cette excellente theorie à portée de tout le monde, en plaçant dans une premiére colomne une ſuite d'hieroglyphes, et dans une ſeconde les lettres qui en ſont dérivées; mais ſans doute que les bornes qu'il s'etoit preſcrites ne lui ont pas permis d'entrer dans ce detail. Quoi qu'il ſoit, tous ceux qui recherchent l'origine des arts et des connoiſſances humaines, peuvent verifier le ſyſtême du ſçavant Anglois, et ſe convaincre que les lettres egyptiennes ne ſont que des hieroglyphes deguiſés. Nous avons aſſez de ſecours pour entreprendre cet examen. Les recueils des antiquaires offrent pluſieurs monumens egyptiens chargés d'hieroglyphes: et la ſeule bande de toile que l'on publie ici [Pl. N°. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.] ſuffiroit pour donner une idée de l'écriture courante — de s'aſſurer que l'alphabet de la langue egyptienne emanoit des hieroglyphes, il ſuffira d'avoir un aſſez grande quantité des lettres iſolées, et de comparer avec les figures repreſentées ſur

the greek words ΣΗΜΕΙΑ and ΣΗΜΑΤΑ ſignify as well the images of natural things as artificial marks or characters; and ΓΡΑΦΩ, is both to paint and to write. The not attending to this natural and eaſy progreſs of hieroglyphic images from pictures to alphabetic letters, made ſome amongſt the ancients, as Plato and Tully, when ſtruck with the wonderful artifice of an ALPHABET, conclude that it was no human invention, but a gift of the immortal Gods.

Here then we ſee the firſt beginnings of Hieroglyphics amongſt the Mexicans, and the end of them amongſt the Chineſe; yet we never find them

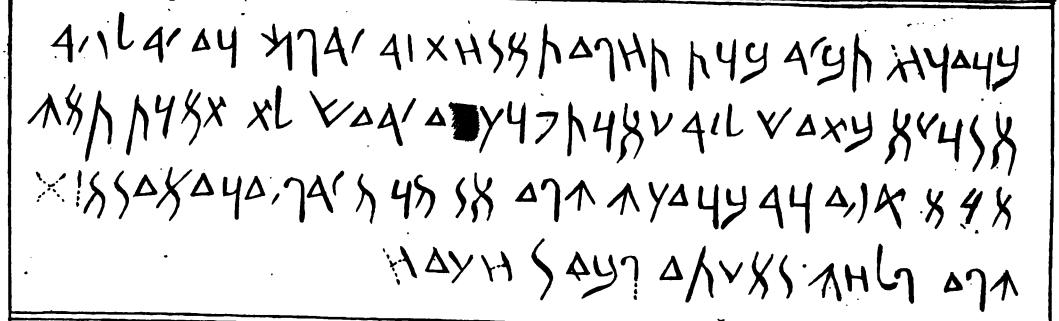
les monumens egyptiens. Or je puis aſſûrer que l'on appercevra entr'elles la liaiſon la plus intime, et les rapports les plus ſenſibles; et pour s'en convaincre, on n'a qu' à jetter les yeux ſur le N°. I. de la XXVI. planche. J'y ai fait graver ſur une premiere colomne une ſuite d'hieroglyphes tirés la plûpart des obeliſques, et dans une colomne correſpondante, les lettres egyptiennes qui viennent de ces hieroglyphes. On trouvera, par exemple, que le premier hieroglyphe repreſentant une barque, a produit un element d'ecriture, dont la valeur a pû varier, ſuivant les points ou les traits dont il etoit affecté; que le troiſieme hieroglyphe, qu'on croit être l'image d'une porte, en perdant ſon arrondiſſement a formé la lettre qui lui eſt paralléle; que la figure d'homme ou d'animal accroupie au N°. 4. eſt devenue une lettre qui ne conſerve que les linéamens du ſymbole original; enfin que le ſerpent figuré ſi ſouvent ſur les monumens egyptiens, N°. 19. s' eſt changé en un caractère qui retrace encore aux yeux les ſinuoſités de ce reptile. On trouvera auſſi que l'autres hieroglyphes, tels que le 2. le 5. le 6. le 11. le 13, &c. ont paſſé dans l'ecriture courante, ſans éprouver le moindre changement. Au reſte, ce n'eſt ici que le leger eſſai d'une operation qui pourroit être pouſſée plus loin, et dans laquelle on appercevroit peutétre des rapports différens de ceux que j'ai établis entre certaines lettres egyptiennes prouve viſiblement leur origine; et plus il eſt approfondi, plus il ſert à confirmer le ſentiment de M. Warburton, p. 69. Thus far this learned perſon. I have borrowed the ſcheme he refers to, and the reader will find it marked, plate VII.

employed

Hieroglyphics.	Letters.	Nº I.	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1.			12.	
2.			13	
3.			14.	
4.			15.	
5.			16.	
6.			17.	
7.			18.	
8.			19.	
9.			20.	
10.			21.	
11.			22	

From M. the Court Caylus

J. Myndf.



N° III.

Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1.	H
2.	٦
3.	X
4.	٨

Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
5.	Δ
6.	ל
7.	ל

employed in either of theſe places for *myſtery* or concealment: what there was of this practice, therefore, in the middle ſtage of their cultivation amongſt the Egyptians, we muſt needs conclude had ſome private or peculiar cauſe, unrelated to their general nature.

But the courſe of the Mexican empire was too ſhort to improve picture into an hieroglyphic; and the Chineſe, which, in its long duration, hath brought this picture down, thro' hieroglyphics, to a ſimple mark, or character, hath not yet (from the poverty of its inventive genius [z], and its averſion

[z] M. Voltaire, in a diſcourſe intitled, *Nouveau plan de l'Hiſtoire de l'Eſprit humain*, ſpeaking of the Chineſe printing, which is an impreſſion from a ſolid block, and not by moveable types, ſays they have not adopted the latter method, *out of attachment to their old uſages.* — On ſait que cette Imprimerie eſt une gravure ſur des planches de bois. L'Art de graver les caractéres mobiles et de fonte, beaucoup ſupérieure à la leur, *n'a point encore été adopté par eux*, TANT ILS SONT ATTACHES A LEURS ANCIENS USAGES. Now I deſire to know of M. Voltaire, how it was poſſible for them to adopt the method of a Font of types or moveable characters, unleſs they had an *alphabet*. That they had no ſuch, Mr. Voltaire very well knew, as he gives us to underſtand, in the ſame place. L'art de faire connoitre ſes idées par l'ecriture qui devroit n'être qu'une methode très ſimple, eſt chez eux ce qu'ils ont de plus difficile; chaque mot a des caractéres differens; un ſavant à la Chine eſt celui qui connoit le plus de ces caractéres, et quelques uns ſont arrivés à la vieilleſſe avant que de ſavoir bien écrire. Would not Caſlon or Baſkerville be finely employed to make a font of letters for this people, who have ſo many millions of real characters? But this hiſtorian of men and manners goes on in the ſame rambling incoherent manner, and ſo he can but diſcredit the Jewiſh hiſtory he cares little for the reſt. — Qui leur donne une ſuperiorité reconnue ſur tous ceux qui raportent l'origine des autres nations, c'eſt qu'on n'y voit aucun *prodige* aucune *prediction*, aucune même de ces fourberies politiques que nous attribuons aux, Fondateurs des autres Etats, excepté peut-être ce qu'on a impute a FOHI, d'avoir fait accroire qu'il avoit vû ſes

ſion to foreign commerce) been able to find out an abridgment of thoſe marks, by letters: it was the old and well eſtabliſhed monarchy of Egypt, ſo propitious to arts and civil policy, which carried the PICTURE, thro' all the ſtages of its improvement, quite down to LETTERS, the invention of this ingenious people[a].

Now ſuch a general concurrence in the method of recording the thoughts, can never be ſuppoſed

Loix ecrites ſur le dos d'un ſerpent ailé. Cette imputation même fait voir qu'on connaiſſait l'ecriture avant *Fohi*. Enfin, ce n'eſt pas a nous, au bout de notre Occident, a conteſter les archives d'une nation qui etait toute policée quand nous n'etions que des Sauvages.—Firſt, China has the advantage of the weſtern world, becauſe the Founders of its religious policy employed neither Miracles nor Prophecies, nor the Founders of its civil policy ſtate tricks and cheats, like other Leaders. And yet he is forced, before the words are well out of his mouth, to own that *Fohi* pretended to have ſeen his laws written upon the back of a winged Serpent: and one can hardly think that Fohi now gotten into ſo good a train would ſtop there. Secondly, By this, however, the hiſtorian gains (and he bids us obſerve it) a very early date for *writing* amongſt the Chineſe, whereas in truth they have no *writing* in the ſenſe the hiſtorian gives to the word, even at this day: and as for Hieroglyphic Characters, all nations had them from the moſt early times, and as ſoon as men began to aſſociate. Thirdly, We barbarians of yeſterday muſt not pretend, he ſays, to contradict the records of this ancient nation. And why not, I pray, when ſuperior Science has enabled this upſtart people of the Weſt to detect the falſehood of the Records of Egypt, a nation which pretended to as high antiquity as the Chineſe. This they have done, and, I ſuppoſe, to the good liking of our hiſtorian, if ever he has heard of the names of Scaliger and Petavius, of Uſher and Marſham.

[a] Primi per *figuras animalium* ÆGYPTII ſenſus mentis effingebant; et antiquiſſima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impreſſa ſaxis cernuntur, et *litterarum* ſemel inventores perhibent; inde Phoenicas, quia mari præpollebant intuliſſe Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tanquam repererint, quæ acceperant. *Taciti An.* l. xi. c. 14.

the

the effect of chance, imitation, or partial purpoſes; but muſt needs be eſteemed the uniform voice of nature, ſpeaking to the firſt rude conceptions of mankind: for the reader may be pleaſed to obſerve, that not only the Chineſe of the eaſt, the Mexicans of the weſt, and the Egyptians of the ſouth, but the Scythians likewiſe of the north, (not to ſpeak of thoſe intermediate inhabitants of the earth, the Indians, Phenicians, Ethiopians, Etruſcans, &c.) all uſed the ſame way of writing by picture and hieroglyphic [b].

But to ſhew ſtill clearer, that it was nature and neceſſity, not choice and artifice, which gave birth and continuance to theſe ſeveral ſpecies's of hieroglyphic writing, we ſhall now take a view of the riſe and progreſs of its ſiſter-art, the art of SPEECH; and having ſet them together and compared them, we ſhall ſee with pleaſure, how great a luſtre they mutually reflect upon one another; for, as St. Auſtin elegantly expreſſes it, *Signa ſint* VERBA VISIBILIA; *verba,* SIGNA AUDIBILIA.

I. LANGUAGE, as appears from the nature of the thing, from the records of hiſtory, and

[b] —Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μόνον Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογικώτατοι, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ἀρέχθησαν, τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐζήλωσαν· φασὶ γοῦν καὶ Ἰδανθύραν τῶν ΣΚΥΘΩΝ βασιλέα, &c. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. v. p. 567. Thus this learned Father; who being in the general prejudice that hieroglyphics were a late art, invented by philoſophic men, to ſecrete their knowledge, expreſſes himſelf accordingly, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ἀρέχθησαν: and yet, methinks, the ſtory he tells of the Scythian king might have directed him to another original.—Euſtathius ſays the ſame thing: Οἱ δέ γε παλαιοὶ, ὅποῖόν τι καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐποίουν, ζῴδιά τινα ἱερογλυφοῦντες καὶ λοιπὸν δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐθέλοιεν, ὅτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καθὰ καὶ τῶν τινες ὕστερον Σκυθῶν, ἰσημαινον ἃ ἤθελον εἰδωλά τινα καὶ πολυειδῆ γράμματα ἐκμαλα ἐγγράφοντες.—*In Iliad.* vi. ver. 168.

from

from the remains of the moſt ancient languages yet remaining, was at firſt extremely rude, narrow, and equivocal[c]; ſo that men would be perpetually at

[c] In judging only from the nature of things, and without the ſurer light of Revelation, one ſhould be apt to embrace the opinion of Diodorus Siculus [lib. ii.] and Vitruvius [lib. ii. cap. i.] that the firſt Men lived, for ſome time, in woods and caves, after the manner of beaſts, uttering only confuſed and indiſtinct noiſes; till aſſociating for mutual aſſiſtance, they came, by degrees, to uſe articulate ſounds, mutually agreed upon, for the arbitrary ſigns or marks of thoſe ideas in the mind of the ſpeaker, which he wanted to communicate to the hearer. Hence the diverſity of languages; for it is confeſſed on all hands, that ſpeech is not innate. This is ſo natural an account of the original of language, and ſo unqueſtioned by Antiquity, that Gregory Nyſſen [*adver. Eunomium*, lib. xii.] a father of the church, and Richard Simon [*Hiſt. Crit. du Vieux Teſt.* lib. i. cap. 14, & 15, lib. iii. cap. 21.] a prieſt of the Oratory, have both endeavoured to ſupport this hypotheſis; and yet, methinks, they ſhould have known better; Scripture plainly informing us, that *language* had a different original. This was juſt the caſe of Sacrifices. It is very eaſy to conceive, that one ſort aroſe naturally from the ſenſe of gratitude to our divine benefactor, and the other from a ſenſe of our demerit towards him (as will be ſhewn hereafter) yet it is certain they were of divine appointment. In this indeed the two caſes differ; *language*, I believe, had, for its ſole original, divine inſtruction; whereas *ſacrifices* amongſt many people were certainly of human invention, and underived from tradition. But to return to the ſubject of language. It is ſtrange, as I ſay, that theſe learned men ſhould not have been better informed. We ſee, by Scripture, that God inſtructed the firſt man, in *religion*. And can we believe, he would not at the ſame time teach him *language*, ſo neceſſary to ſupport the intercourſe between man and his Maker? For Quietiſm is a thing of modern growth; this, with Myſticiſm of all kinds, is the iſſue of that wantonneſs which makes favoured man grow tired of his two greateſt bleſſings, reason and language.—If it be ſaid, Man might gain language by the uſe of reaſon, I reply, ſo might he gain religion likewiſe: and that much eaſier and ſooner. Again, when God created man, he made woman for his companion and aſſociate; but the only means of enjoying this benefit is the uſe of ſpeech. Can we think that God would leave

at a loſs, on any new conception, or uncommon accident, to explain themſelves intelligibly to one another;

leave them to themſelves, to get out of the forlorn condition of brutality as they could? But there is more than a probable ſupport for this opinion. If I am not much miſtaken, we have the expreſs teſtimony of MOSES, that God did indeed teach men language: It is where he tells us, that *God brought every beaſt of the field, and every fowl of the air, unto Adam, to ſee what he would call them: and whatſoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beaſt of the field.* GEN. ii. 19, 20. Here, by a common figure of ſpeech, inſtead of directly *relating* the fact, that God taught men language, the hiſtorian *repreſents* it, by ſhewing God in the act of doing it, in a particular mode of information; and that, the moſt appoſite we can conceive, namely, elementary inſtruction, in the giving names to ſubſtances; ſuch as thoſe with which Adam was to be moſt converſant, and which therefore had need of being diſtinguiſhed each by its proper name: How familiar an image do theſe words convey of a learner of his rudiments? — *And God brought every beaſt*, &c. *to Adam to* SEE *what he would call them.* In a word, the prophet's manner of relating this important fact, has, in my opinion, an uncommon elegance. But men of warm imaginations overlooked this obvious and natural meaning to ramble after forced and myſterious ſenſes, ſuch as this, that Adam gave to every creature *a name expreſſive of its nature.* From which fantaſtic interpretation, all the wild viſions of Hutchinſon, and his cabaliſtic followers, ſeem to have ariſen. Nor are the Freethinkers much behind them in abſurdities. "Some (ſays Tindal) would be almoſt apt to imagine "that the author of the book of GENESIS thought that words "had ideas naturally fixed to them, and not by conſent; "otherwiſe, ſay they, how can we account for his ſuppoſing "that God brought all animals before Adam, as ſoon as he "was created, to give them names; and that *whatſoever Adam "called every living creature, that was the name thereof?*" [*Chriſtianity as old as the creation.* 8vo. ed. p. 228.] But tho' Moſes *thought* no ſuch thing, I can tell him of one who did. A very ancient writer, and frequently quoted by the men of this tribe to confront with Moſes, I mean HERODOTUS; who not only thought this, but thought ſtill more abſurdly, that *Ideas had words naturally affixed to them.* See the famous tale of Pſammetichus and his two boys, lib. ii. How would theſe men have rejoiced to catch Moſes at the ſame advantage.—To conclude,

another; the art of inlarging language by a ſcientific analogy being a late invention: this would neceſſarily ſet them upon ſupplying the deficiencies of ſpeech by apt and ſignificant SIGNS[d]. Accordingly, in the firſt ages of the world, mutual converſe was upheld by a mixed diſcourſe of words and ACTIONS; hence came the eaſtern phraſe of *the voice of the ſign*[e]; and uſe and cuſtom, as in moſt other affairs of life, improving what had ariſen out of neceſſity, into ornament, this practice ſubſiſted long after the neceſſity was over; eſpecially amongſt the eaſtern people, whoſe natural temperament inclined them to a mode of converſation, which ſo well exerciſed their vivacity, by motion; and ſo much gratified it, by a perpetual repreſentation of material images. Of this we have innumerable inſtances in holy Scripture: as where the falſe prophet puſhed with horns of iron, to denote the entire overthrow of the Syrians[f]; where Jeremiah, by God's direction, hides the linen girdle in a hole of the rock near Euphrates[g]; where

clude. From what hath been ſaid, it appears, that God taught man, language: yet we cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe it to be any other than what ſerved his preſent uſe: after this, he was able of himſelf to improve and enlarge it, as his future occaſions ſhould require: conſequently the firſt language muſt needs be very poor and narrow.

[d] If this be true, it muſt be the caſe at all times, and in all places, where language remains within thoſe narrow bounds. Thus Lafateau, ſpeaking of the ſavages of North America, obſerves, *Ils parlent autant du* GESTE *que de la voix.* — Mœurs des ſauvages, vol. i. p. 482. 4°. edit.

[e] EXOD. iv. 8. And not for the reaſon given by Le Clerc on the place, ideoque *vox* iis [prodigiis] tribuitur, cùm eorum operâ Deus, non minus ac voce, ſuum hunc prophetam eſſe ſignificaret.

[f] 1 KINGS xxii. 11. [g] Chap. xiii.

he

he breaks a potter's veſſel in ſight of the people [h]; puts on bonds and yokes [i], and caſts a book into Euphrates [k]; where Ezekiel, by the ſame appointment, delineates the ſiege of Jeruſalem on a tile [l]; weighs the hair of his beard in balances [m]; carries out his houſhold-ſtuff [n]; and joins together the two ſticks for Judah and Iſrael [o]. By theſe actions the prophets inſtructed the people in the will of God, and converſed with them in ſigns: but where God teaches the prophet, and in compliance to the cuſtom of that time, condeſcends to the ſame mode of inſtruction, then the ſignificative action is generally changed into a viſion, either natural or extraordinary: as where the prophet Jeremiah is bid to regard the rod of the almond-tree, and the ſeething pot [p]; the work on the potter's wheel [q], and the baſkets of good and bad figs [r]; and the prophet Ezekiel, the ideal ſcene of the reſurrection of dry bones [s]. The ſignificative action, I ſay, was, in this caſe, generally changed into a viſion; but not always. For as ſometimes, where the inſtruction was for the people, the ſignificative action was, perhaps, in *viſion:* ſo, ſometimes again, tho' the information was only for the prophet, God would ſet him upon a real expreſſive action, whoſe obvious meaning convey'd the intelligence propoſed or ſought. Of this, we ſhall give, at the expence of infidelity, a very illuſtrious inſtance [t]. The excellent Maimonides, not attending to this primitive mode of information, is much ſcandalized at ſeveral of theſe actions, unbecoming, as

[h] Chap. xix. [i] Chap. xxvii. [k] Chap. li.
[l] Chap. iv. [m] Chap. v. [n] Chap. xii.
[o] Chap. xxxvii. 16. [p] Chap. i. [q] Chap. xviii.
[r] Chap. xxiv. [s] Chap. xxxvii. 2.

[t] See the caſe of Abraham, b. vi. ſect. 5.

he ſuppoſed, the dignity of the prophetic office; and is therefore for reſolving them in general, into ſupernatural viſions, impreſſed on the imagination of the prophet[w]; and this, becauſe ſome few of them may, perhaps, admit of ſuch an interpretation. In which he is followed by chriſtian writers[x], much to the diſcredit, as I conceive, of Revelation; and to the triumph of libertiniſm and infidelity[y]; the actions of the prophets being delivered as realities; and theſe writers repreſenting

[w] *More Nevochim*, P. ii. cap. xlvi. which chapter he thus intitles, *Quòd opera ea, quæ prophetæ dicunt ſe feciſſe, non fuerint facta reverâ & externè, ſed tantum in viſione prophetiæ*; and then goes on: — Scias ergo, quemadmodum in ſomnio accidit, ut homini videatur, ac ſi in hanc vel illam regionem profectus eſſet, uxorem in ea duxiſſet, ac ad tempus aliquod ibi habitâſſet, filium, quem N. appellârit, & qui talis aut talis fuerit, ex ea ſuſcepiſſet; ita ſe quoque rem habère in illis parabolis prophetarum, quas vident aut faciunt in viſione prophetiæ. Quicquid enim docent parabolæ illæ de actione aliquâ & rebus, quas prophetа facit, de menſura & ſpatio temporis inter unam & alteram actionem, de profectione ex uno loco in alium; illud omne non eſt niſi in viſione prophetica, nequaquam verò ſunt actiones veræ & in ſenſus incurrentes, licet quædam partes præciſè & abſolutè commemorentur in libris prophetarum.

[x] Vid. *Joannis Smith. Theol. Cantab. Diſſertationem de Prophetia & Prophetis ex tranſl. Joannis Clerici*, cap. vi. and his late followers.

[y] "How many commands did God give his Prophets, which, "if taken according to the letter, ſeem unworthy of God, as "making them act like madmen or idiots? As for inſtance, "the prophet *Iſaiah walked for three years together naked for a* "*ſign*; Jeremiah is commanded *to carry his girdle as far as Eu-* "*phrates, — to make bands and yokes*, &c. — Ezekiel is com- "manded *to draw Jeruſalem on a tile*, &c. &c." [*Tindal's Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, p. 229.] *The prophet Jeremiah* (ſays a learned writer) *is ordered to buy a girdle*, &c.—*He is alſo ſent about with yokes. — Ezekiel beſieges a pan-tile. — He ſhaves his head and beard* —*No reaſonable man can believe theſe actions were really performed.* See Diſſertation on the Hiſtory and Character of Balaam.

them

them as *mean, abſurd* and fanatical, *and expoſing the prophet to contempt* [z]. But what is it they gain by this expedient? the charge of abſurdity and fanaticiſm will follow the prophet in his viſions, when they have removed it from his waking actions: for if theſe actions were abſurd and fanatical in the real repreſentation, they muſt needs be ſo in the imaginary; the ſame turn of mind operating both aſleep and awake [a]. The judicious reader therefore can-

[z] —Quemadmodum autem vidit in viſionibus [Propheta] quod juſſus fuerit [Ezech. cap. viii.] fodere in pariete, ut intrare & videre poſſet, quid intùs faciant, quod foderit, per foramen ingreſſus fuerit, & viderit id quod vidit; ita quoque id quod dictum eſt ad eum, *Et tu ſume tibi laterem*, &c. [Ezech. cap. iv.] quod item alibi ei dictum legitur, *Novaculam hanc tonſoriam cape tibi*, [Ezech. cap. v.] ita, inquam, iſta omnia in viſione prophetiæ facta ſunt, ac vidit, vel viſum fuit ipſi, ſe iſta opera facere, quæ ipſi præcipiebantur. Abſit enim ut deus prophetas ſuos ſtultis vel ebriis ſimiles reddat, eoſque ſtultorum aut furioſorum actiones facere jubeat. *More Nev.* P. ii. cap. 46. But here the author's reaſoning is defective, — becauſe what Ezekiel ſaw in the *chambers of imagery* in his eighth chapter was in viſion, therefore his *delineation of the plan of the ſiege*, and the *ſhaving his beard*, in the fourth and fifth chapters, were likewiſe in viſion. But to make this illation logical, it is neceſſary that the circumſtance in the eighth, and the circumſtances in the fourth and fifth be ſhewn to be ſpecifically the ſame; but examine them, and we ſhall find them very different: that in the eighth was to ſhew the Prophet the exceſſive idolatry of Jeruſalem, by a ſight of the very idolatry itſelf; thoſe in the fourth and fifth, were to convey the will of God, by the Prophet to the people, in a ſymbolic action. Now in the firſt caſe, as we have ſhewn above, the information was properly by viſion, and fully anſwer'd the purpoſe, namely the Prophet's information; but, in the *latter*, a viſion had been improper; for a viſion to the prophet was of itſelf, no information to the people.

[a] "Prophetic dreams and viſions were ſo very lively (ſays "a learned writer) and affected the imagination with ſuch force, "that *the prophet himſelf could not at the time diſtinguiſh ſuch "viſions from realities. Something of this kind we experience in "our dreams and reveries.*"—See Diſſ. on Balaam, p. 193.

not

not but obſerve that the reaſonable and true defence of the prophetic writings is what is here offered: where we ſhew, that information by action was, at this time, and place, a very familiar mode of converſation. This once ſeen, all charge of abſurdity, and ſuſpicion of fanaticiſm, vaniſh of themſelves: the *abſurdity* of an action conſiſts in its being extravagant and inſignificative; but uſe and a fixed application made theſe in queſtion both ſober and pertinent: The *fanaticiſm* of an action conſiſts in a fondneſs for unuſual actions and foreign modes of ſpeech; but thoſe in queſtion were idiomatic and familiar. To illuſtrate this laſt obſervation by a domeſtic example: when the ſacred writers talk of being *born after the ſpirit*, of being *fed with the ſincere milk of the word*, of *putting their tears into a bottle*, of *bearing teſtimony againſt lying vanities*, of *taking the veil from mens hearts*, and of *building up one another*; they ſpeak the common, yet proper and pertinent phraſeology of their country; and not the leaſt imputation of fanaticiſm can ſtick upon theſe original expreſſions. But when we ſee our own countrymen reprobate their native idiom, and affect to employ only ſcripture phraſes in their whole converſation, as if ſome inherent ſanctity reſided in the eaſtern modes of expreſſion, we cannot chuſe but ſuſpect ſuch men far gone in the deluſions of a heated imagination. The ſame may be ſaid of ſignificative actions [b].

But it is not only in ſacred ſtory that we meet with the mode of *ſpeaking by action*. Profane antiquity is full of theſe examples; and it is not unlikely but, in the courſe of our enquiry, we ſhall

[b] See *Clem. Walker*'s ſtory of the fanatic ſoldier with his five lights. *Hiſt. Indep.* part II. p. 152.

have

have occaſion to produce ſome of them: the early Oracles in particular, frequently employed it, as we learn from an old ſaying of Heraclitus: *That the king whoſe Oracle is at Delphi, neither ſpeaks nor keeps ſilent, but reveals by* SIGNS [c].

Now this way of expreſſing the thoughts by ACTION perfectly coincided with that, of recording them by PICTURE. There is a remarkable caſe in ancient ſtory, which ſhews the relation between *ſpeaking by action* and *writing by picture*, ſo ſtrongly, that we ſhall need no other proof of the ſimilar nature of theſe two forms. It is told by Clemens Alexandrinus: *They ſay, that Idanthura, a king of the Scythians, (as Pherecydes Syrius relates the ſtory) when ready to oppoſe Darius, who had paſſed the Iſter, ſent the Perſian a ſymbol inſtead of letters, namely, a mouſe, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plow* [d]. Thus this meſſage being to ſupply both ſpeech and writing, the purport of it was, we ſee, expreſſed by a compoſition of *action* and *picture*.

II. As ſpeech became more cultivated, this rude manner of ſpeaking by action was ſmoothed and poliſhed into an APOLOGUE or *fable*; where the ſpeaker, to inforce his purpoſe, by a ſuitable impreſſion, told a familiar tale of his own invention,

[c] Οὔτε λέγει, ὅτι κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. *Plut.* περὶ τῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετρα, p. 962. which being a leſs preciſe and more equivocal mode of information excellently well fitted the trade of oracles. The Lacedemonians [See Herodotus in Thalia] preferred it to ſpeech for another reaſon, viz. to hinder their being miſled by the illuſions of oratory.

[d] Φασὶ γῶν κ᾽ Ἰδάνθυραν τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος, Δαρείῳ διαβάντι τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεμον ἀπειλήντα πέμψαι σύμβολον ἀντὶ τῶν γραμμάτων, μῦν, βάτραχον, ὄρνιθα, ὀϊστὸν, ἄροτρον. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 567.

accompanied with ſuch circumſtances as made his deſign evident and perſuaſive: for language was yet too narrow, and the minds of men too undiſciplin'd, to ſupport only abſtract reaſoning and a direct addreſs. We have a noble example of this form of inſtruction in the ſpeech of Jotham to the men of Shechem; in which he upbraids their folly, and foretells their ruin, in chuſing Abimelech for their king. As this is not only the oldeſt, but the moſt beautiful[e] apologue of

[e] The general moral, which is of great importance, and is inculcated with all imaginable force, is that weak and worthleſs men are ever moſt forward to thruſt themſelves into power; while the wiſe and good decline rule, and prize their native eaſe and freedom above all the equipage and trappings of grandeur. The vanity of baſe men in power is taught in the fifteenth verſe, and the ridicule of that vanity is inimitably marked out in thoſe circumſtances; where the *bramble* is made to bid his new ſubjects, who wanted no ſhadow, to *come and put their truſt in his*, who had none; and that, in caſe of diſobedience, he would ſend out from himſelf *a fire, that ſhould devour the cedars of Lebanon*, whenas *the fire of brambles*, and ſuch like traſh, was ſhort and momentary even to a proverb, amongſt the eaſterns.—Tindal ſpeaking of the neceſſity of the application of reaſon to ſcripture, in order to a right underſtanding of thoſe paſſages in the Old Teſtament, where God ſpeaks, or is ſpoken of, after the manner of men, as being *jealous, angry, repentant, repoſing, &c.* (Modes of expreſſion very appoſite, where the ſubject is God's moral government of the world; very neceſſary, where 'tis his civil government of a particular people.) Tindal, I ſay, brings this in, amongſt his inſtances.—*Wine, that cheareth god and man*; as if Jotham had meant God, the governor of the univerſe; when all, who can read antiquity, muſt ſee his meaning to be, that *wine cheareth hero-gods and common men.* For Jotham is here ſpeaking to an idolatrous city, which *ran a whoring after Baalim, and made Baalberith their god*; a God ſprung from amongſt men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from divers other circumſtances of the ſtory. But our critic, who could not ſee the ſenſe, it is certain, ſaw nothing of the beauty of the expreſſion; which contains one of the fineſt ſtrokes of ridicule in the whole apologue, ſo much abound-

of antiquity, I shall need no excuse for transcribing it: "The trees went forth on a time to anoint a "king over them, and they said unto the olive-"tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive-tree "said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, "wherewith, by me, they honour God and man, "and go to be promoted over the trees? And the "trees said to the fig-tree, Come thou, and reign "over us. But the fig-tree said unto them, "Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good "fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees? "Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou, "and reign over us. And the vine said unto "them, Should I leave my wine, *which cheareth* "*God and man*, and go to be promoted over the "trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble, "Come thou and reign over us. And the bramble "said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me "king over you, then come and put your trust "in my shadow: and if not, let fire come "out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of "Lebanon [f]."

How

abounding with them; and insinuates to the Shechemites the vanity and pitiful original of their idolatrous gods, who were thought to be, or really had been, *refreshed with wine.* Hesiod tells us, in a similar expression, *that the vengeance of the fates pursued the crimes of gods and men:*

Αἴτ' ΑΝΔΡΩΝ τε ΘΕΩΝ τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσαι,
Οὐδέποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
Πρίν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώωσι κακὴν ὅπιν ὅστις ἁμάρτῃ.

ΘΕΟΓ. ver. 220.

[f] JUDGES ix. 7. COLLINS, the author of the *Scheme of literal prophecy considered*, speaking of Dean Sherlock's interpretatation of GEN. iii. 15. says,—"What the Dean just now said is "nothing but an argument from the pretended absurdity of the "literal sense, that supposes the most plain matter of fact to be

 "*fable,*

How nearly the *apologue* and *inſtruction by action* are related, may be ſeen in the account of Jeremiah's

" *fable, or parable, or allegory*; tho' it be ſuited to the notions " of the Ancients, *who thought that beaſts had, in the firſt ages* " *of the world, the uſe of ſpeech*, agreeable to what is related in " the Bible of Balaam's aſs, and told after a *ſimple hiſtorical* " *manner*, like *all the relations* in the Old Teſtament, wherein " there is nothing favours of *allegory*, and *every thing is plainly* " *and ſimply expoſed*." p. 234. By this it appears that Mr. Collins thought that *fable*, *parable*, and *allegory*, were the ſame mode of ſpeech, whereas they are very different modes. A *fable* was a ſtory familiarly told, without any pretended foundation of fact, with deſign to perſuade the hearers of ſome truth in queſtion; a *parable* was the ſame kind of ſtory, more obſcurely delivered; and an *allegory* was the relation of a real fact, delivered in ſymbolic terms: Of this kind was the ſtory of the FALL; a real fact, told allegorically. According to Mr. Collins, it is a *fable* to be underſtood litterally, becauſe *it was ſuited to the notions of the ancients, who thought that beaſts had, in the firſt ages of the world, the uſe of ſpeech.* By the Ancients he muſt mean, if he means any thing to the purpoſe, thoſe of the moſaic age: and this will be news. His authority is, in truth, an authentic one! It is Balaam's aſs.—*Agreeable*, ſays he, *to what is related in the Bible of Balaam's aſs, and told after a ſimple hiſtorical manner.* Now the Bible, to which he ſo confidently appeals, expreſsly tells us, that Balaam had the gift of prophecy; that an angel intervened; and that God Almighty opened the aſs's mouth. But however he is pleaſed to conceal the matter, he had a much better proof that *the Ancients thought beaſts had the uſe of ſpeech in the firſt ages of the world* than *Balaam's aſs*; and that was ESOP'S FABLES. And this might have led him rather to the ſtory of Jotham, ſo plainly and ſimply expoſed, that, had not only the *ſerpent*, but the *tree of knowledge* likewiſe ſpoken, he could have given a good account of the matter, by Jotham's fable; *told after a ſimple hiſtorical manner, like all the relations in the Old Teſtament.* A great improvement, believe me, this, to his diſcovery,—*that the ancients thought not only that beaſts, but that trees ſpoke in the firſt ages of the world.* The *Ancients!* an' pleaſe you. It is true, they delighted in fabulous traditions. But what then? they had always the ſenſe to give a ſufficient cauſe to every effect. They never repreſented things out of nature, but when placed there by ſome God, who had nature in his power. Even Homer, the father of fables, when he makes the

miah's adventure with the Rechabites; [g] an inſtruction partaking of the joint nature of *action* and *apologue*.

This was the birth of the FABLE; a kind of ſpeech which correſponds, in all reſpects, to *writing by hieroglyphics*, each being the ſymbol of ſomething elſe underſtood. And, as it ſometimes happened, when an Hieroglyphic became famous, it loſt its particular ſignification, and aſſumed a general one; as the *Caduceus*, for inſtance, which was, at firſt, painted only to denote the pacific office of Hermes, became, in time, to be the common ſymbol of league and amity: ſo it was with the Apologue; of which, when any one became celebrated for the art and beauty of its compoſition, or for ſome extraordinary efficacy in its application, it was ſoon converted and worn into a PROVERB. We have a fine inſtance of this in the meſſage of Jehoaſh to Amaziah, "Saying, *The thiſtle that* "*was in Lebanon, ſent to the cedar that was in* "*Lebanon, ſaying, Give thy daughter to my ſon to* "*wife: and there paſſed by a wild beaſt that was* "*in Lebanon, and trode down the thiſtle.* Thou "haſt indeed ſmitten Edom, and thine heart hath "lifted thee up: glory of this, and tarry at home: "for why ſhouldeſt thou meddle to thy hurt, "that thou ſhouldeſt fall, even thou and Judah "with thee? [h]" Where we ſee plainly that this ſatyric apologue of the thiſtle and cedar was now become a proverb: of a like kind is that of the

the horſes of Achilles ſpeak, or feel human paſſions, thinks it not enough to repreſent them as ſtimulated by a God, without informing us, that they themſelves were of a celeſtial and immortal race.

[g] C. xxxv. [h] 2 KINGS xiv. 9, 10.

prophet; *Howl, fir-tree, for the cedar is fallen*; [i] to denote the danger of the lower people, when their ſuperiors cannot withſtand the civil tempeſt.

III. But as ſpeech improved into an art, the Apologue was contracted into a SIMILE, in which men conſulted cloſeneſs as well as brevity; for here the ſubject itſelf being ſtill kept in ſight, there was no need, as in the Apologue, of a formal application: and how eaſily the Apologue ſlid into the *Similitude*, we may ſee by the following paſſage of Jeremiah, which, being ſomething between both theſe forms of ſpeech, communicates of either's nature: *The Lord called thy name a green olive-tree, fair and of goodly fruit: with the noiſe of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken* [k], *&c.* This way of ſpeaking by Simile, we may conceive to anſwer to the *chineſe marks* or characters in writing.

Again, as from ſuch *marks* proceeded the abbreviated method of *alphabetic letters*, ſo from the Simile, to make language ſtill more expedite and elegant, came the METAPHOR; which is indeed but a Simile in little: for men ſo converſant in *matter* ſtill wanted ſenſible images to convey abſtract ideas. The ſteps by which the *Simile* was contracted into the *Metaphor*, may be eaſily traced by a careful peruſal of the prophetic writings; there being no mode of ſpeech more common than that compounded of both; where the *Simile* is juſt about to be forſaken, and the *Metaphor* to be received. In this manner are God's judgments denounced againſt the king of Aſſyria: "Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, becauſe

[i] ZECH, c. xi, ver. 2. [k] 2 KINGS xi. 16.

"thou

" thou haſt lifted up thyſelf in height, and he " hath ſhot up his top amongſt the thick boughs, " and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have " therefore delivered him into the hand of the " mighty one of the heathen: --- and ſtrangers, " the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, " and have left him: upon the mountains and in " all the valleys his branches are fallen, and his " boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, " and all the people of the earth are gone down " from his ſhadow, and have left him. Upon " his ruin ſhall all the fowls of heaven remain, " and all the beaſts of the field ſhall be upon his " branches. To the end that none of all the " trees by the waters exalt themſelves for their " height, neither ſhoot up their top amongſt the " thick boughs[l]." Quintilian conſidering this matter in an inverted order, yet makes an obſervation, where he ſpeaks of *metaphors*, much to our purpoſe.---Continuus [uſus] vero in allegoriam et ænigmata exit [m]. That is, As the allegory may, by degrees, be contracted into a Metaphor, ſo the Metaphor, by beating long upon it may be drawn back again into an allegory.

As the *Simile* ſlid into a *Metaphor*, ſo the metaphor often ſoftened into a ſimple EPITHET, which ſoon diſcharged all the colouring of the figure. This is obſervable in the words *decrepid* [n], *capricious*, and a great many others, when applied either to the body or mind. Which being firſt uſed in

[l] EZEK. xxxi. 10, *& ſeq.* [m] L. viii. c. 6.

[n] DECREPITUS. Comparatio vitæ noſtræ cum lucerna nota fuit Latinis, ut patet ex decrepitorum ſenum nuncupatione. *Prim. Scal.* p. 48.

ſimile, then in *metaphor*, at length, by frequent uſe in *epithet*, loſt the very memory of their original°.

Thus we ſee the common foundation of all theſe various modes of WRITING and SPEAKING, was a PICTURE or IMAGE, preſented to the *imagination* thro' the eyes and ears; which being the ſimpleſt and moſt univerſal of all kinds of information, (the firſt reaching thoſe who could not decypher the arbitrary characters of an alphabet; and the latter inſtructing thoſe who were yet ſtrangers to abſtract terms) we muſt needs conclude to be the natural inventions of rude neceſſity.

And here it may not be amiſs to repeat an obſervation made before, that the primitive and more ſimple way of expreſſion, whether in *writing* or *ſpeaking*, did not always ſtraight grow into diſuſe on the invention of a more improved manner. Thus we ſee in Scripture, the way of *ſpeaking* by action was ſtill uſed after the introduction of the Apologue; and the Apologue, after that of the Simile and Metaphor. And ſo again in *writing*; the firſt and ſimpleſt hieroglyphics continued to be uſed in Egypt, (as we ſhall ſee) long after the refinement of them into thoſe more artful ones called *ſymbolical*; and theſe, after that further improvement into characters or *marks* reſembling the chineſe, and even after the invention of *letters*.

But how, as in theſe ſeveral modes of ſpeech, ſo in the ſeveral forms of writing, men made a

° This account ſhews how ridiculouſly the critics were employed in ſeeking out the inventor of the Apologue; they might as well have ſought for the inventor of the Metaphor, and carried their *reſearches* ſtill further, and with Sancho Pancha inquired after the inventor of eating and drinking.

virtue

virtue of neceſſity, and turned that into ornament and myſtery, which had its birth in poverty, and was brought up in ſimplicity and plainneſs, is to be our next enquiry.

II.

It is now, I ſuppoſe, apparent, that the hitherto received opinion, that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *conceal* their knowledge, and render it myſterious, is altogether without foundation. However, as it is very certain they did, at length, *employ* hieroglyphic writing to ſuch a purpoſe, it will be proper to examine how this came about; How one of the ſimpleſt and plaineſt means of inſtruction came to be converted into one of the moſt artificial and abſtruſe.

To ſupport what we have to ſay on this head with proper authority, it will be neceſſary to produce two important paſſages from Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus, concerning the ſeveral natures and kinds of Egyptian writing. On theſe, we ſhall regulate our diſcourſe; which will, in its turn, contribute to illuſtrate theſe paſſages, hitherto, as we conceive, very imperfectly underſtood.

But it will be proper firſt of all to give the reader a general idea of the ſeveral natures and kinds of Egyptian writing, according to the order of time in which each was invented and improved; and for the truth, as well as perfect intelligence of the account, refer him to the whole of the diſcourſe.

Egyptian writing was of four kinds: the firſt, HIEROGLYPHIC, and this twofold: the more rude, called *curiologic*; and the more artificial, called *tropical:*

cal: the ſecond, SYMBOLIC; and this likewiſe was twofold; the more ſimple, and the more myſterious; that *tropical*, this *allegorical*. Theſe two kinds of writing, namely the hieroglyphic and ſymbolic, (which went under the generic term of *hieroglyphics*, diſtinguiſhed into *proper*, and *ſymbolic* hieroglyphics) were not compoſed of the letters of an alphabet, but of marks or characters which ſtood for THINGS, not words. The third EPISTOLIC, ſo called, as we ſhall ſee, from its being firſt applied to *civil* matters: and the fourth and laſt, HIEROGRAMMATIC, from its being uſed only in *religious*. Theſe two laſt kinds of writing, namely, the epiſtolic and hierogrammatic, expreſſed WORDS, and were formed by the letters of an alphabet.

We come now to the paſſages in queſtion. Porphyry, ſpeaking of Pythagoras, tells us: That *he ſojourned with the prieſts in Egypt, and learnt the wiſdom and the language of the country, together with their three ſorts of letters, the* EPISTOLIC, *the* HIEROGLYPHIC, *and the* SYMBOLIC; *of which the* HIEROGLYPHIC *expreſſed the meaning of the writer, by an imitation or picture of the thing intended to be expreſſed; and the* SYMBOLIC, *by allegorical enigmas.*[p] Clemens is larger and more explicit:

[p] —Καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνῆν, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξέμαθε, καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Γραμμάτων δὲ τρισσὰς διαφορὰς, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ τε, καὶ ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΩΝ, καὶ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΙΚΩΝ· τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθ' μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνιγμούς. *De Vita Pythagoræ*, cap. xi. & xii. p. 15. *Ed. Kuſteri. Holſtenius* tranſlates τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθ' μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνιγμούς, in this manner: — "Quorum illud "*propriam & communem loquendi conſuetudinem* imitatur; *reliqua* "per allegorias ſub quibuſdam ænigmatum involucris ſenſum "exprimunt." By which, it ſeems, he underſtood τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθ' μίμησιν to be an explanation of the nature of *epiſtolary*

plicit: ---*Now thoſe who are inſtructed in the egyptian wiſdom, learn firſt of all the method of their ſeveral*

epiſtolary writing; and τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καλά τινας αἰνιγμὰς, of the nature both of *hieroglyphic* and *ſymbolic*; whereas the firſt words are an explanation of hieroglyphic writing, and the ſecond only of ſymbolic. For Porphyry having named three kinds of writing, the firſt common to all people; the two other peculiar, at that time, to the Egyptians; when he comes to ſpeak of their natures, he judiciouſly omits explaining the *epiſtolary*, which all the world knew, and confines his diſcourſe to the *hieroglyphic* and *ſymbolic*. But was it, as Holſtenius thought, that he explained the nature of the *epiſtolary* in the words τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων, &c. then has he entirely omitted the proper *hieroglyphic* (for the τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων, &c. relates only to the *ſymbolic*) which had been an unpardonable fault. But that this is Holſtenius's miſtake is further ſeen by the next paſſage from Clemens Alexandrinus: for what Porphyry calls *hieroglyphical and ſymbolical*, Clemens calls *hieroglyphical*; uſing hieroglyphical as a generic term, which Porphyry uſed as a ſpecific. Clemens, I ſay, giving an account of the nature of hieroglyphic writing, tells us it was of two ſorts; the one, ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΜΗΣΙΝ, *directly and ſimply imitates the thing intended to be repreſented*; by this he meant the proper hieroglyphic (which Porphyry, in his enumeration of the kinds, diſtinguiſhes from the *ſymbolic*) and what is more, Porphyry ſeems to have borrowed his expreſſion of τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καλὰ μίμησιν, from Clemens's κυριολογεῖται καλὰ μίμησιν, by which this latter evidently meant to expreſs the nature of the proper hieroglyphic. Beſides, Clemens, who gives the nature of epiſtolary writing, with the ſame judgment that Porphyry omitted giving it, deſcribes it in a very different manner, and with great propriety, thus, ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ. Yet a learned writer, ſupported by the authority of Holſtenius, which ſerved his purpoſe in an argument for the low antiquity of Egypt, would perſuade us that *Porphyry did not mean by the expreſſion* κοινολογέμενα καλὰ μίμησιν, *that the characters he ſpoke of imitated the forms or figures of the things intended by them*; FOR *that was not the* μίμησις *which the ancient writers aſcribed to* LETTERS. [*Sacr. and Prof. Hiſt. of the World connect.* vol. ii. p. 296.] This argument is a *Petitio Principii*; which ſuppoſes Porphyry to be here deſcribing epiſtolary writing. On this ſuppoſition the writer ſays, *that the imitation of the forms or figures of things, is not the* μίμησις *the ancient writers aſcribed to letters.* Certainly it is not.

But

several sorts of letters; the first of which is called EPISTOLIC; *the second* SACERDOTAL, *as being used*

But Porphyry is not speaking of letters, but of hieroglyphic figures: therefore μίμησις does here, and may any where, mean (because it is the literal sense of the word) imitation of the figure of things. However, let us consider his criticism on this word, tho' it makes so little to his purpose:—Socrates in Plato says, it seems, ὁ διὰ τῶν συλλαβῶν τε καὶ γραμμάτων τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ΑΠΟΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ· and *the ancients*, the learned writer tells us, *were exceeding philosophical in their accounts of both words and letters: when a word or sound was thought fully to express, according to their notions, the thing which it was designed to be the name of, then they called it the* εἰκὼν, *or picture of that thing*. The ancients were, without doubt, wonderfully profound; if we will believe Kircher and his school: but if a plain man may be heard, all the mystery of μίμησις and εἰκὼν was simply this: Alphabetic letters, as we have observed, sprung from hieroglyphic characters; and even received their form from thence. Now the ancients, as was very natural, when they spoke of the power of letters, and of words composed of letters, frequently transferred the terms μίμησις and εἰκὼν, to these, which properly belonged to hieroglyphic characters: a plain proof of this is the very word ἀπομιμέομαι, quoted by the learned writer from Plato; which literally signifies, *to imitate from an exemplar*, but figuratively, to *express*, at large: So πλάσμα originally signified any thing formed and fashioned by art; traductively, a similitude in speech, nay, the musical modulation of the voice. There is a remarkable passage in Plutarch's discourse of the *Pythian prophetess no longer rendering her prophecies in verse*; where the word πλάσμα is generally thought to be used in the first of these traductive senses, but I think it must be understood in the second; speaking of the ancient manner of delivering the oracles, he says, —οὐκ ἀνήδυντον, οὐδὲ λιτὴν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὄγκῳ καὶ ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΙ καὶ μεταφοραῖς ὀνομάτων, καὶ μετ' αὐλοῦ. Mr. Le Clerc, [*De Prophetia*, p. 18. tom. iv. *Comm. in V. T.*] translates the latter part thus, pedibus vincta, tumida, *quæsitis & tralatitiis verbis* constantia, & cum tibia pronunciata. But πλάσματι signifies here, not *quæsitis verbis*, but that modulation of the voice which we may call *placida conformatio*, and is opposed to ὄγκῳ, a contrary modulation of the voice, which may be called *gravis conformatio*. These two were used in the theatre (to which the matter is compared) in a kind of *recitative* on the flute: so that what Plutarch would say, is this, that the ancient oracles were not only delivered in verse, and in a pompous figurative style, but were sung likewise to the flute. To ὄγκῳ and πλάσματι he opposed

uſed by the ſacred ſcribes; the laſt with which they conclude their inſtructions, HIEROGLYPHICAL. *Of theſe different methods, the one is in the plain and common way of writing by the firſt elements of words, or letters of an alphabet; the other by* SYMBOLS. *Of the ſymbolic way of writing, which is of three kinds; the firſt is that plain and common one of imitating the figure of the thing repreſented; the ſecond is by tropical marks; and the third, in a contrary way, of allegorizing by Enigmas. Of the firſt ſort, namely, by a plain and direct imitation of the figure, let this ſtand for an inſtance:— to ſignify the ſun, they*

poſed ἀνήδυτον, in the ſenſe of *untunable*; and to μεταφορᾶς ὀνομάτων he oppoſed λιτὴν, *plain, ſimple.* Plutarch uſes πλάσμα again in the ſenſe of *conformatio*, where ſpeaking of the elocution of Pericles, he calls it ΠΛΑΣΜΑ φωνῆς ἀβόμβου, *a compoſed modulation of voice.* But Quintilian employs it in the very ſenſe in queſtion, to expreſs *a ſoft and delicate modulation of voice.* Sit autem imprimis lectio virilis & cum ſuavitate quadam gravis, & non quidem proſæ ſimilis, quia carmen eſt, & ſe poetæ canere teſtantur. Non tamen in canticum diſſoluta, nec PLASMATE (ut nunc a pleriſque fit) effœminata, l. i. c. 14. Hence again, in another traduction, *plaſma* was uſed to ſignify a certain medicine, that ſpeakers in public took to render their voice ſoft and harmonious,

> Sede leges celſa, *liquido* cum *plaſmate* guttur
> Mobile conlueris ——— *Perſ. Sat.* i. ver. 17.

Turnebus, not attending to this progreſſive change in the ſenſe of words, and taking his ſignification of *plaſma* from the paſſage of Quintilian, ſuppoſed that *plaſma*, in this place of the poet, ſignifies not a medicament, but a ſoft and delicate modulation of the voice. — Eſt cùm molli & tenera fictaque vocula poema eliquaverit udo gutture. Eſt enim *plaſma*, ut alio loco docui, cum vox eſt tenera & mollis. On the other hand, Lubin, who had taken his ſignification of *plaſma* from this place, will needs have the ſame word in the paſſage quoted above from Quintilian to ſignify not a ſoft and delicate modulation of the voice, but a medicament. Turnebi hujus loci explicatio, l. xxviii. c. 26. Adverſar. mihi non placet, & hoc Quintiliani loco refutatur. *Comment. in Perſ.*

made

made a circle; the moon, a half circle. The second, or tropical way of writing, is by changing and transferring the object with justness and propriety[q]: *this they do, sometimes by a simple change, sometimes by a complex multifarious transformation; thus they leave engraven*[r] *on stones and pillars the praises of their kings, under the cover of theologic fables. Of the third sort, by enigmas, take this example: the oblique course of the stars occasioned their representing them by the bodies of serpents; but the sun they likened to a scarabæus, because this insect makes a round ball of beast's dung, and rolls it circularly, with its face opposed to that luminary*[s].

Thus

[q] *κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες.* That is, as I understand it, representing one thing by another, which other hath qualities bearing relation or analogy to the thing represented.

[r] *ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων.* The latin translator keeps close to his original, *anaglyphicis describunt*; and Stanley, [*Lives of Phil.* p. 350. ed. 3d.] *they write by anaglyphics*: as if this was a new species of writing, now first mentioned by Clemens, and to be added to the other three: whereas, I suppose, it was Clemens's intention only to tell us that tropical symbols were chiefly to be met with on their stone monuments, engraven in relief: which was true.

[s] *Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν* ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ *καλουμένην· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν* ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, *ἢ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν* ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ· *ἧς ἡ μὲν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογικὴ· ἡ δὲ, συμβολική· τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δ' ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀλλητορεῖται κατὰ τινας αἰνιγμούς. Ἥλιον γοῦν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· Σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος· τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες. τὰ δὲ, πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσι· τοὺς γοῦν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μυθοις παραδιδόντες ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων· τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αἰνιγμοὺς, τρίτου εἴδους, δεῖγμα ἔστω τόδε, τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὄφεων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον· τὴν δὲ Ἥλιον, τῇ τοῦ*

καν-

Thus these two ancient Greeks: but both of them being in the general mistake concerning the

κανθάρου· ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκ τῆς βοείης ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀνθιπρόσωπος κυλίνδει. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 555, 559. *Ed. Morell.* —ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ, συμβολικὴ, the latin translator turns thus, *Cujus una quidem est, per prima elementa* κυριολογικὴ, *id est, proprie loquens; altera vero symbolica, id est, per signa significans.* This is so faithfully translated, that it preserves the very ambiguity of the original, and leaves us still to guess at the author's division. Marsham takes it just wrong; and so does his nephew Stanley: the first of these learned men quotes and translates the passage thus: *Triplex erat apud Ægyptios characterum ratio,* Ἐπιστολογραφικὴ, *ad scribendas epistolas apta, sive vulgaris;* Ἱερατικὴ, *qua utuntur* Ἱερογραμματεῖς, *qui de rebus sacris scribunt;* & Ἱερογλυφικὴ, *sacra sculptura;* HUJUS *duæ sunt species,* Κυριολογικὴ, *proprie loquens* per prima elementa, & Συμβολικὴ, *per signa* [*Can. Chron.* p. 38. *Franeq. Ed.*] The second thus,—*the last and most perfect,* hieroglyphical; WHEREOF *one is* curiologic, *the other* symbolic. [*Lives of Phil.* p. 329. 3d. ed.] By this interpretation, the learned Father is, 1. made to enumerate three kinds of writing, but to explain only the last, namely *hieroglyphics*; 2. which is worse, he is made to say one kind of hieroglyphics was by letters of an alphabet; for that is the meaning of διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων: 3. which is still worse, he is made to divide hieroglyphics into two sorts, *curiologic* and *symbolic*; and *symbolic* into three sorts, *curiologic, tropical,* and *allegorical*; which makes the prior division into curiologic and symbolic, inaccurate and absurd; and spreads a general confusion over the whole passage. Their mistake seems to have arisen from supposing μεθόδου ἱερογλυφικῆς (the *immediate antecedent*) was understood at ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι; whereas it was the more *remote antecedent,* μεθόδου Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων: and what made them suppose this, was, I presume, the author's expressing the common plain way of writing by letters of an alphabet, and the common plain way of imitating by figures (two very different things) by the same words, κυριολογικὴ and κυριολογεῖται; not considering that διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, joined to the adjective, signified writing by letters; and, κατὰ μίμησιν, joined to the verb, signified *writing by figures.* In a word then, the plain and easy meaning of Clemens is this,—" The Egyptian method of writing was epistolic, " sacerdotal, and hieroglyphical; of this method, the epistolic " and sacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet, the hieroglyphical, by symbols: symbols were of three kinds, curiologic, tropical, and allegorical."

original

original of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, it is no wonder their accounts ſhould be inaccurate and confuſed. The firſt miſtake common to both, and the natural conſequence of that falſe principle, is making the EPISTOLARY writing firſt, in order of time[t], which was indeed the laſt. For that this was

[t] This was indeed a very logical concluſion from the opinion *that hieroglyphics were invented to hide myſteries*; but the high improbability of the fact ſhould have led them, one would think, to the falſhood of the premiſſes. That the Egyptians had *letters* before they had *hieroglyphics*, ſeems to me as extravagant as that they danced before they could walk; and, I believe, will ſeem ſo to all who conſider the firſt part of this diſſertation. However, a modern writer has taken up that opinion; and tells us in plain terms, that *the hieroglyphical way of writing was not the moſt ancient way of writing in Egypt*; [*Connect. of the Sacr. and Prof. Hiſt.* vol. i. p. 230. and again to the ſame purpoſe vol. ii. 293, 294.] partly, I preſume, as it favoured the hypotheſis of the low antiquity of Egypt; and partly, perhaps, in compliment to that conſequential notion, that not only all arts and ſciences came from the Hebrews, but all the vehicles of knowledge likewiſe; whence, particularly, the author of the *Court of the Gentiles* derives hieroglyphics. *The greateſt pieces of the jewiſh wiſdom*, ſays Mr. Gale, *were couched under the cover of ſymbols and types; whence the Egyptians and other nations borrowed their hiereglyphic and ſymbolic wiſdom.* [Part i. p. 77.] But on what ground does the author of the *Connection* build, in ſupport of his opinion? On this, that *letters* are very ancient; in which, without doubt, he is right: but ſurely not ſo ancient as he would have them. However, the Argument he uſes is certainly a very perverſe one: *There is one conſideration more*, ſays he, *which makes it very probable that the uſe of* LETTERS *came from Noah, and out of the firſt world, and that is the account which the Chineſe give of their* LETTERS. *They aſſert their firſt emperor, whom they name* Fohy, *to be the inventor of them; before* Fohy *they have no records, and their* Fohy *and* Noah *were the ſame perſon.* [vol. i. p. 236] Now it unluckily happens that the Chineſe are without LETTERS, even to this day. Nor are we, for all this, to think our author ignorant of the nature of the Chineſe characters; for he tells us ſoon after, that *the Chineſe have no notion of alphabetical letters, but make uſe of characters to expreſs their meaning. Their characters are not deſigned*

to

was their ſentiment appears from Clemens's calling hieroglyphic writing ὑσάτην καὶ τελευλαίαν, the laſt and moſt perfect kind. The ſecond common miſtake is their counting but three ſorts of writing, when, indeed, there were four; as is diſcoverable even from their own reckoning: Porphyry naming *epiſtolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *ſymbolic*; Clemens, *epiſtolic*, *ſacerdotal*, and *hieroglyphical*; the Firſt leaving out *ſacerdotal*, which the Second ſupplies; and the Second *ſymbolic*, which the Firſt ſupplies. Their other miſtakes are peculiar to each: Clemens errs moſt in enumerating the ſeveral ſorts; and Porphyry in explaining their ſeveral natures.

This latter writer names the three ſorts, *epiſtolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *ſymbolic*; and this was not much amiſs, becauſe the fourth, the *hierogrammatic*, or *ſacerdotal*, not differing from the *epiſtolic* in its nature, but only in its uſe, he comprized it, we may

to expreſs words, for they are uſed by ſeveral neighbouring nations who differ in language. [p. 244.] Thus the learned writer, before he was aware, in endeavouring to prove *letters* of higher antiquity than *hieroglyphics*, hath proved juſt the contrary; even that hieroglyphic characters, not letters, were the writing ſo early as his Noah: For the Chineſe characters are properly hieroglyphics, that is, marks for *things*, not *words*; and *hieroglyphics* they are called by all the miſſionaries from whom we have the moſt authentic accounts of China. But had their characters been indeed *letters*, as our author, in this place, by miſtake ſuppoſed them, yet ſtill his argument, would have had no weight; and I will beg leave to tell him why: The Chineſe characters in uſe at preſent are very modern in compariſon of the monarchy. The miſſionaries tell us (as may be ſeen by the quotations given above) that the Chineſe character hath undergone ſeveral changes; that their firſt way of writing was, like the Mexican, by picture; that they then abbreviated it in the manner of the moſt ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics; and at length brought it, by many gradual improvements, to its preſent contracted form: yet a *real character* or *hieroglyphic* the Chineſe writing ſtill is, and ſo is like'y to continue.

ſuppoſe, under the *generic* term of *epiſtolic*: but when he comes to explain the nature of the *ſymbolic*, which is performed two ways, *tropically* and *allegorically*, he quite omits the firſt, and inſiſts only on the latter.

Clemens, on the other hand, gives us theſe three kinds, the *epiſtolic*, the *ſacerdotal* or hierogrammatical, and the *hieroglyphical*. Here *epiſtolic* is uſed as a ſpecific term; and *hieroglyphical* as a *generic*; juſt contrary to Porphyry, who, in his enumeration, employs them the other way: but then, as to their nature, Clemens ſays, the *epiſtolic and ſacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet, and the hieroglyphic by ſymbols*: the firſt part of the explanation is exact. We have obſerved that Porphyry judiciouſly omits to explain epiſtolary writing, as ſuppoſing it to be well known: but Clemens, who adds to epiſtolary, *ſacerdotal*, a way of writing, tho' like the epiſtolary, by an alphabet, yet being confined to the uſe of the prieſts, not ſo well known, he with equal judgment explains their nature: but the latter part of his account, where he ſays hieroglyphic writing was by ſymbols, making ſymbolic, which is a ſpecific term, to be equivalent to hieroglyphical, which he uſes generically, is an unlucky blunder; of which this is the conſequence, that proceeding to divide *ſymbolic*, as a generic term, into three ſorts, *curiologic*, *tropical* and *allegorical*; he falls into a direct contradiction: τῆς δὲ Συμβολικῆς, ſays he, ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, *the firſt kind of ſymbolic writing is by a plain and ſimple imitation of the figure of the thing intended to be repreſented*; which is directly contrary to the very nature of a ſymbol; a ſymbol being the repreſentation of one thing by the figure of another. For inſtance, it was the bull Apis, and not the picture

or

or image of Oſiris, that was the *ſymbol* of Oſiris: Clemens therefore, we conceive, ſhould have ſaid,—*hieroglyphics* were written *curiologically* and *ſymbolically*; that the *curiologic hieroglyphics* were by *imitation*; the *ſymbolic*, by *converſion*; and that, of this *converſion*, there were two kinds, the *tropical* and *allegorical*; and then all had anſwered to his foregoing diviſion. For the reſt, He explains the nature of *curiologic* and *ſymbolic hieroglyphics* with ſufficient exactneſs; ſave that the firſt inſtance he gives of *allegoric ſymbols* ſeems to belong to the *tropical*.

Thus we ſee how theſe writers contribute to the correcting one another's miſtakes. What is neceſſary for the further clearing up their accounts, which, obſcure as they are, are the beſt that antiquity will afford us, ſhall be occaſionally conſidered as we go along.

Let us next enquire how HIEROGLYPHICS came to be employed for the *vehicle of myſtery*.

I. The Egyptians, in the beginnings of their monarchy, wrote like all other infant nations, in a kind of univerſal character by picture; of which rude original eſſays, we have yet ſome traces remaining amongſt the *hieroglyphics of Horapollo*; who tells us, that the ancient Egyptians painted a *man's two feet in water* to ſignify a *fuller* [u], and *ſmoke aſcending upwards* to denote *fire* [x]. But to render this rude invention leſs incommodious, they ſoon deviſed the more artful way of putting one ſingle figure for the mark or repreſentative of ſeveral

[u] *Horap.* l. i. c. 65. [x] l. ii. c. 16.

things; and thus made their picture, and HIEROGLYPHIC.

This was the firſt improvement of that rude and barbarous way of recording mens ideas; and was practiſed in a twofold manner; the one more ſimple, by putting the principal part for the whole; the other more artificial, by putting one thing, of reſembling qualities, for another. The firſt ſpecies was the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC; the ſecond, the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC; the latter of which was a gradual improvement on the former; as appears both from the nature of the thing, and from the records of antiquity. Thus the *moon* was ſometimes repreſented by a *half circle*, ſometimes by a *cynocephalus*[y]: The overflowings of the Nile, ſometimes by a ſpreading *water in heaven and earth*, ſometimes by a *lion*[z]; (a hieroglyphic, we may ſuppoſe, invented after they had learnt a little aſtronomy:) a *judge*, ſometimes by a *man without hands, holding down his eyes*[a], to denote the duty of being unmoved by intereſt or pity; ſometimes by a *dog near a royal robe*[b]; for they had a ſuperſtition that a dog, of all animals, was only privileged to ſee the gods; and it was an old cuſtom for their judges to behold and examine their kings naked: now in all theſe inſtances we ſee the firſt hieroglyphic is *curiological*; the ſecond, *tropical*.

The Egyptians therefore, employed, as we ſay, the *proper hieroglyphics* to record, openly and plainly, their laws, policies, public morals, and hiſtory; and in a word, all kinds of civil matters.

[y] l. i. c. 14. [z] l. i. c. 21. [a] *Plutarch. If. & Oſir.*—*Diod. Sic.* lib. i. [b] *Horap.* l. i. c. 40.

1. This is ſeen from thoſe remaining monuments of old Egyptian wiſdom, the OBELISKS[c]. That

[c] A late curious Voyager, who had examined the larger PYRAMIDS with great exactneſs, and found no hieroglyphics inſcribed upon them, either without or within, concludes, rather too haſtily, that they were built before the uſe of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt; and from thence inſinuates another concluſion, in favour of the abſurd hypotheſis here confuted, that hieroglyphics were not the firſt ſpecies of writing known in Egypt; and conſequently, did not come from picture-writing, but from alphabetic marks; a fooliſh error, which betrays great ignorance in the natural progreſs of human knowledge. "Si je ſuppoſe "(ſays Captain Norden) que les Pyramides, même les der-"nieres, ont été elevées avant que l'on eût l'uſage des hiero-"glyphes, je ne l'avance ſans fondement. Qui pourroit ſe "perſuader, que les Egyptiens euſſent laiſſé ces ſuperbes "monumens, ſans la moindre inſcription hieroglyphique, eux, "qui, comme on l'obſerve de toutes parts, prodigueoient les "hieroglyphes ſur tous les edifices de quelque conſideration? "Or on n'en apperçoit aucun, ni au dedans, ni au dehors, des "pyramides, pas même ſur les ruines des temples de la ſeconde "et de la troiſieme pyramide: n'eſt ce pas une preuve que "l'origine des pyramides précéde celle des hieroglyphes, que "l'on regarde neanmoins comme les premiers caracteres dont on "ait uſé en Egypte."—*Voyage d' Egypte*, 3me partie p. 75.

The curious voyager not only ſatisfies himſelf in accounting for the want of hieroglyphic characters on the Pyramids, by their being built before the invention of ſuch characters, but ſeems to value himſelf upon a diſcovery reſulting from it, that *Hieroglyphics were not the firſt ſort of writing in Egypt.* But there is a greater difficulty in this matter than he was aware of.

It hath been proved at large, that *marks for things*, by a kind of picture-writing, were the firſt rude effort of every people upon earth, to convey and perpetuate their intelligence, and conceptions to one another, as ſoon as they began to aſſociate into tribes and nations. The Monuments in queſtion are a proof that the erectors of them had advanced in the arts of civil life. No one then, who underſtands what Society is, can doubt but that the Egyptians had then a method of conveying their thoughts at a diſtance, by viſible marks: and no one, acquainted with the ſlow progreſs of human inventions,

That very ancient one of Rameſſes, now ſtanding before the pontific palace in Rome, and firſt erected

can imagine that alphabetic writing was the firſt effort towards this conveyance. Hence ariſes the difficulty.

But this obſervation of the curious voyager, which furniſhes the difficulty, ſupplies the ſolution. Suppoſe only the Pyramids to be erected in the interval between the inventions of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics, that is, between their natural and more artificial ſtate, and the difficulty vaniſhes: For in their natural ſtate, they would be only uſed out of neceſſity; and not for ornament, luxury, or decoration. So that it is no wonder we do not find them on the PYRAMIDS in pompous and flattering inſcriptions, like thoſe on the OBELISKS.

His obſervation, Norden, indeed, gives as a proof of the high antiquity of the pyramids; and very juſtly. But his Drawings furniſh us with another argument in ſupport of this truth, which he himſelf ſeems not to have conſidered: It is this, that the general idea of Egyptian architecture was entirely taken from the PYRAMIDS: which nothing ſure but the high veneration for them, increaſed by their remote antiquity, could poſſibly have occaſioned; ſince the figure of theſe ſepulchral monuments, ſo well adapted to triumph over time, is the moſt inconvenient that can poſſibly be imagined for habitable ſtructures, whether public or private; and exceedingly groteſque, in all others. And yet we ſee, from the ancient ruins of Egypt, of which this diligent and exact Traveller has given us ſo fine drawings, that all their buildings, without exception, were raiſed on the idea and genius of the Pyramids. We are ſurpriſed to find not only their ports, their door-ſteads, [See plates CIX.—CXVIII.] but even the very walls of their temples, [Pl. CXLVII.—VIII.—CLI.—CLIV.] nay, of their towns, narrowing upwards and inclining inwards, in the manner of a modern fortification. [Pl. XCIX.—CXV.—CXXXVIII.]—But to return to the ſolution given above: It may be ſaid, perhaps, "Allow the pyramids to have been erected in the interval between the invention of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics, What hindered the Egyptians from ſcribbling over theſe bulky monuments with their firſt rude eſſays, as other barbarous nations have done upon their rocks? of which we find ſpecimens enough in Scandinavia, north-eaſt Tartary, and elſewhere." Indeed I know of nothing but CUSTOM that hindered them; that ſovereign Miſtreſs of the world, who

erected to adorn the city of Heliopolis, is full of hieroglyphic characters; theſe Hermapion tranſlated into

who only is of force to controll and conquer Nature: And that Cuſtom did effectually hinder them, is very plain, from our finding no ſpecimens of any of their firſt rude hieroglyphic paintings; though, from them, their improved hieroglyphics received their birth. Nor did they want, any more than other barbarians, their iſolated rocks for this purpoſe: they had them very commodiouſly bordering on the Nile, and in view of all paſſengers. And on theſe, it is remarkable, they have inſcribed their improved hieroglyphics, tho' we ſee no remains of any the earlier and ruder efforts of picture-writing.

But the modeſty and reſerve of this curious Traveller, and his deference to learned Antiquity deſerves commendation. He is not of the number of thoſe who expect more faith from their Reader than they commonly find, or venture to entertain him with diſcoveries which he did not expect. For the learned reader acquieſces in Antiquity; the ſenſible reader prefers the evidence of a contemporary writer to the conjectures of a modern traveller: yet ſuch is the general humour of our Voyagers, that they think they do nothing, if they do not rectify the errors of Antiquity. I have an ingenious meaſurer of the Pyramids in my eye, and one of the lateſt too, [Dr. Shaw] who, in the paſſion for ſaying ſomething new, aſſures us, that the opinion of their being SEPULCHRES, is an old inveterate miſtake! that they are indeed no other than TEMPLES, for religious worſhip. To ſoften ſo rugged a paradox, he ſays, *there was no univerſal conſent amongſt the Ancients concerning the uſe or purpoſe for which theſe Pyramids were deſigned.* And was there any *univerſal conſent* amongſt them that ſnow was white? But would this ſave the modeſty or underſtanding of him who ſhould affirm, after a certain ancient Philoſopher, that it was black? And yet ſuch a one would have the advantage of our Traveller; who would be hard put to it to produce any Ancient, whether Philoſopher or otherwiſe, who ſaid the Pyramids were *Temples*. But if the poſitive and agreeing teſtimony of all the old writers extant, may be called *univerſal conſent*, it certainly is not wanting. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, &c. all aſſure us that the Pyramids were *Sepulchres*. Nay, Diodorus, to put the matter out of doubt, informs us that the ſacred commentaries of their Prieſts ſaid ſo. But our Traveller ſuppoſed this univerſal conſent

into Greek; and part of his tranſlation is preſerved in Ammianus Marcellinus. By which its appears, that the writing on this obeliſk contained only a panegyric on Rameſſes, and a hiſtory of his conqueſts. But this was not the ſubject of one only, but of all the obeliſks in general [d]. We have ſeen already, and ſhall ſee further, what Clemens Alexandrinus hath obſerved to this purpoſe. Diodorus ſaith, that *Seſoſtris erected two obeliſks of very durable ſtone, each twenty cubits high; on which he engraved the number of his forces, the particulars of his revenue, and a catalogue of the nations he had conquered* [e]. At Thebes, Strabo telleth us, there were *certain obeliſks with inſcriptions recording the riches and power of their kings, and the extenſiveneſs of their dominion, ſtretching into Scythia, Bactria, India, and the country now called Ionia; together with the multitude of their tributes, and the number*

ſent to be ſhaken at leaſt, by Pliny, who tells us, *they were built for oſtentation, and to keep an idle people in employment.* As if this intimated that, in Pliny's opinion, they were not Sepulchres! Suppoſe I ſhould ſay the great Arch at Blenheim was *built for oſtentation*; and if not to ſet an idle people to work, yet at leaſt to make them ſtare: Does this contradict the univerſal conſent of its being a Bridge, tho' as much too large for the water that runs under it, as the Pyramids were for the bodies contained in them. In a word, Pliny is not ſpeaking of the *uſe* to which the buildings were applied, but of the *motives* for their erection.

[d] O Ægypte, Ægypte, Religionum tuarum ſolæ ſupererunt fabulæ, et æque incredibiles Poſteris ſuis; ſolaque ſupererunt verba LAPIDIBUS inciſa, TUA FACTA NARRANTIBUS. *Apuleius*, Elmenh. ed. p. 90.

[e] δύο δὲ λιθίνους Ὀβελίσκους ἐκ τοῦ σκληροῦ λίθου, πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέγραψε τότε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν. lib. i. p. 37. S. E.

of

of the ſoldiery, which conſiſted of a million of men[f]: And Proclus aſſureth us, *That the Egyptians recorded all ſingular events, memorable actions and new inventions on columns, or ſtone pillars*[g]. Tacitus is more particular than the reſt; for ſpeaking of Germanicus's voyage into Egypt, and his curioſity in examining its antiquities, he ſaith: *Mox viſit veterum Thebarum magna veſtigia; & manebant ſtructis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorum opulentiam complexæ: juſſuſque è ſenioribus ſacerdotum patrium ſermonem interpretari, referebat habitaſſe quondam ſeptingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamſen Libya, Æthiopia, Mediſque & Perſis, & Bactriano, ac Scythia potitum. Quaſque terras Syri Armeniique & contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bythynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuiſſe. Legebantur & indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti & auri, numerus armorum equorumque, & dona templis ebur atque odores, quaſque copias frumenti & omnium utenſilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc, vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana, jubentur*[h]. But to obviate at once all the cavils of Kircher againſt this concurrent teſtimony, I obſerve, in the laſt place, that it receives the fulleſt confirmation from that excellent treatiſe of Horapollo, which conſiſts chiefly of the ancient and proper hieroglyphics; all of them relating to

[f] — ἐν δὲ ταῖς θήκαις ἐπί τινων ὀβελίσκων ἀναγραφαὶ δηλοῦσαι τὸν πλῆθος τῶν τότε βασιλέων, καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν, ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν, καὶ Βακτρίων, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας διαλείνασαν· καὶ φόρων πληθος, καὶ τραπέζας περὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδας. l. xvii.

[g] Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἔτι καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἀεὶ νέα ποιεῖται· ἡ δὲ μνήμη, διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας· αὕτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων, ἐν οἷς ἀπεγράφοντο τὰ παραδόξα, καὶ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε ἐν πράξεσιν, εἴτε ἐν εὑρέσεσιν. *Procl. in Timæum*, l. i. p. 31. f.

[h] *Annal.* lib. ii.

civil

civil life, and altogether unfit for the abstract speculations of philoſophy and theology.

2. This is further ſeen from that celebrated inſcription on the temple of Minerva at Saïs, ſo much ſpoken of by the Ancients; where an infant, an old man, a hawk, a fiſh, and a river-horſe, expreſſed this moral ſentence, *All you who come into the world, and go out of it, know this, that the Gods hate impudence.* The excellent Stillingfleet, who was in the common opinion that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *ſecrete* their profound wiſdom, and that this inſcription at Saïs was part of that wiſdom, pronounces ſentence from hence, on all their myſtic learning in general:--- "Certainly (ſays he) this kind of learning de- "ſerves the higheſt form amongſt the *difficiles* "*nugæ*; and all theſe hieroglyphics put together, "will make but one good one, and ſhould be for "---*labour loſt*[1]." But there might be much knowledge in their myſtic learning, whatever becomes of the hieroglyphical inſcription at Saïs; which was indeed no part of that learning, but a plain and public admonition in the proper hieroglyphic; ſo far from being a *difficult trifle*, to be ſecreted, that it was a very plain and important truth to be read and underſtood by the people; as appears from the place where it was engraved, the veſtibule of a public temple.

And here KIRCHER's viſionary labours on this ſubject might have been pitied, had he diſcovered in any of his voluminous writings on the Hieroglyphics, the leaſt regard to truth or probability. This learned perſon had collected a fact from Antiquity,

[1] *Orig. Sacr.* l. ii. c. ii. p. 79.

which

which the notoriety of it will not ſuffer us to call in queſtion, namely, that *the old Egyptians committed their profound and ſecret wiſdom to the ſeal of hieroglyphics.* Egyptian wiſdom was a matter of moment. But the learned Jeſuit did not duly conſider, whether any of the vehicles of that wiſdom were yet in being; much leſs did he reflect that the ſame Antiquity which tells us they had much profound wiſdom, tells us likewiſe, that it was all collected in their ſacerdotal [k] books, books long ſince loſt; and that the ancient monuments of ſtone ſtill remaining, were records of another nature. However, inflamed with the glory of a Diſcoverer, he launches out in ſearch of this unknown World; guided by ſome of the lateſt greek writings, in conjunction with the earlieſt egyptian hieroglyphics. The greek writings indeed pretended (tho' very impudently [l]) to ancient Egyptian wiſdom; but theſe hieroglyphics conſtantly diſclaimed it [m]: By this direction he ſteered at large: and it is pleaſant to ſee him labouring thro' half a dozen folios with the writings of late greek Platoniſts, and the forged books of Hermes, which contain a philoſophy, not Egyptian, to explain and illuſtrate old monuments, not philoſophical. While Hermapion, Diodorus, Strabo, Proclus, Tacitus and Pliny, are carefully avoided as falſe lights, which would drive him upon rocks and ſhallows. — But to proceed.

[k] See *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. vi. [l] Vol. i. b. iii. §. 4.

[m] Thus in one place he expreſſes himſelf: — Plerique ferè Herodotum, Diodorum, Plinium ſecuti, *Obeliſcos* non niſi hiſtoricas regum veterum commemorationes continere opinati ſunt; quod tamen falſum eſſe, ex dictis *luce meridiana clarius patet.* p. 269, 270. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.* tom. iii.

II. Thus

II. Thus far went the two ſpecies, of the *proper* Hieroglyphic; which, in its laſt ſtage of the tropical, touched upon SYMBOLS (of which we are now to ſpeak) they having this in common, that each *repreſented one thing by another*; in this they differed, that the *tropical Hieroglyphic* was employed to divulge; the *tropical Symbol*, to ſecrete: for all the ſeveral modes of writing by THINGS having had their progreſſive ſtate, from leſs to more perfection, they eaſily fell into one another; ſo that there was but little difference between the *proper* Hieroglyphic in its laſt ſtate, and the *ſymbolic* in its firſt. For this method of contriving *tropical hieroglyphics*, by ſimilar properties, would of itſelf produce refinement and nice enquiry into the more hidden and abſtruſe qualities of things; which meeting at the ſame time with a temper now much turned to ſpeculation [n] on matters of theology and philoſophy, would as naturally introduce a new ſpecies of zoographic writing, called by the ancients SYMBOLIC, and employed for SECRESY [o]; which

[n] Τάαυτος, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι Θὼθ προσαγορεύουσι, σοφία διενεγκὼν παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, πρῶτος τὰ κατὰ την θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας, εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. *Sanch. apud Euſeb. Pr. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10.

[o] Againſt this, a late furious writer objects—" But is it credible that the polite and learned prieſts of Egypt would uſe a " method to hide and ſecrete their knowledge, which the more " rude and barbarous nations employed to publiſh and divulge " theirs? Or can you conceive that a curious and ſtudied refinement of ſo knowing and enlightened a people as the " Egyptians ſhould be one and the very ſame thing with a rude " and ſimple invention of thoſe nations which were moſt barbarous and uncivilized?" *Jackſon's Chron.* V. iii. p. 357.

I anſwer by another queſtion — Is it credible that the polite and learned orators and hiſtorians of Greece and Rome ſhould, out of choice, uſe a method [FIGURATIVE EXPRESSION] to perfect

which the high ſpeculations, conveyed in it, required; and for which it was well fitted by the ænigmatic quaintneſs of its repreſentations.

As the proper Hieroglyphics were of two kinds, *curiological* and *tropical*, ſo were SYMBOLS; the more natural, ſimply TROPICAL; the more artificial, ENIGMATICAL.

1. TROPICAL ſymbols were made by employing the leſs known properties of things. The quality was ſometimes uſed for the ſake of a fanciful reſemblance; as a *cat* ſtood for the *moon*, becauſe they obſerved the pupil of her eye to be filled and enlarged at the full moon, and to be contracted and diminiſhed during its decreaſe [P]; ſometimes it was founded on the natural hiſtory of an animal; as a *ſerpent* repreſented the *divine nature*, on account of its great vigour and ſpirit, its long age and revire-

perfect their eloquence, which the firſt rude and barbarous nations employed, out of neceſſity, and which rude and barbarous nations ſtill employ, for want of intellectual ideas, and more abſtract terms? Or can *you conceive, that a curious and ſtudied refinement* of dreſs, *in ſo knowing and enlightened a people* as the preſent French, *ſhould be one and the ſame thing with the rude and ſimple invention* of leathern garments to cover nakedneſs, amongſt the Laplanders, a people moſt barbarous and uncivilized? But if it diſpleaſes our Chronologiſt, that ſo enlightened and refined a people as the Egyptians ſhould pride themſelves in the rude and ſimple invention of barbarians: what will he ſay to find, that the moſt ſavage people upon earth go a ſtep beyond the moſt poliſhed, in the delicacy and luxury of ſpeech? Yet this is the caſe of the Greenlanders, or the miſſionary Egede deceives us. *The women* (ſays he) *have a dialect different from the men, making uſe of the ſofteſt letters at the ends of words, inſtead of the hard ones.* Hiſt. of Greenland, p. 160.

[P] αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτῆς κόραι πληροῦσθαι μὲν ᾗ φαλαίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν πανσελήνῳ, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ ᾗ μαραίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ φωτός. *Plut. de Iſ. & Oſ.*

ſcence,

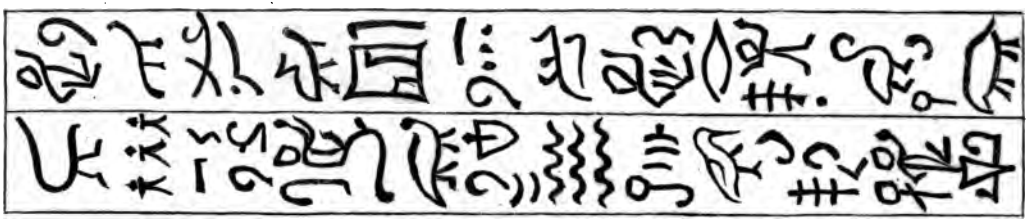
bled, in this, the Mexican, that what things had bodily form were generally repreſented by figures; what had not, by marks or characters. Which we find verified in the moſt ancient of the Egyptian Obeliſks yet remaining. The reader need but caſt his eye into Kircher, to ſee how exactly their hieroglyphics, in this point, reſembled the *American*, publiſhed by Purchas, not only in their uſe, which as Purchas [a] and Diodorus [b] ſay, were to record the number of their troops, the particulars of their revenue, and the names of their conquered towns and provinces; but likewiſe in their forms and figures. But when now every thing was directed to ſecrecy and myſtery, *modes* as well as *ſubſtances* were painted by *images* [c]. Thus *openneſs* was expreſſed by a hare [d], *deſtruction* by a mouſe [e], *uncleanneſs* by a wild goat [f], *impudence* by a fly [g], *knowledge* by an ant [h], *averſion* by a wolf [i], *anger* by a cynocephalus [k], *&c.* And to make the matter ſtill more myſterious, one animal was made to repreſent many and very contrary moral modes; thus the *hawk* ſignified ſublimity, humility, victory, excellence [l], *&c.* On the contrary, and for the ſame reaſon, one thing was repreſented by many and various hieroglyphics; ſometimes for an addition, out of choice, to confound the vulgar; ſometimes for a change, out of neceſſity, when a hieroglyphic by long or frequent uſe was become vulgar or common.

Now the ancient Greeks, though they ſaw this to be a different ſpecies of writing from the proper

[a] See p. 69. [b] See p. 124. [c] See p. 85.
[d] *Horap.* l. i. c. 26. [e] c. 50. [f] c. 49. [g] c. 51. [h] c. 52. [i] l. ii. c. 22. [k] l. i. c. 14. [l] l. i. c. 6.

hieroglyphic,

Part of one side of the Florentine Obelisk From Kircher.



J. Myndt sc.

facing p. 145 V. III. PLATE VIII.

hieroglyphic, and accordingly, as we find by Porphyry, diſtinguiſhed them into two kinds, *hieroglyphical* and *ſymbolical*, yet confounding their original, in ſuppoſing both invented out of choice, have not accurately diſtinguiſhed either their different natures or uſes: they took it for granted that the *hieroglyphic*, as well as *ſymbol*, was a myſterious repreſentation; and, what was worſe, a repreſentation of ſpeculative notions in philoſophy and theology; whereas it was uſed only in public and open writings, to regiſter their civil policy and hiſtory: Theſe miſtakes involved the whole hiſtory of hieroglyphic writing in infinite confuſion.

But it is now time to ſpeak of an alteration, which this change of the ſubject and manner of expreſſion made in the DELINEATION of hieroglyphic figures. Hitherto the animal or thing repreſenting was drawn out graphically; but when the ſtudy of philoſophy (which had occaſioned *ſymbolic* writing) had inclined their learned to write much, and variouſly; that exact manner of delineation would be as well too tedious as too voluminous: by degrees therefore, they perfected another character, which we may call the *running hand* of hieroglyphics, reſembling the chineſe writing, which being at firſt formed only by the outlines of each figure[m], became at length a kind of marks. One natural effect which this running-hand would, in time, produce, we muſt not omit

[m] A very curious ſpecimen of this haſty delineation of the outlines of the figures (which gave birth to the running hand character we are here ſpeaking of) the reader will find in Kircher, p. 350. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.* tom. iii. where he has given the characters on the florentine obeliſk, which, though dignified by that name, is only a late mimic in miniature of the ſuperb monuments ſo intitled. See plate VIII.

to mention; it was, that the uſe would take off the attention from the *ſymbol*, and fix it on the *thing ſignified*; by which means the ſtudy of ſymbolic writing would be much abbreviated, the reader or decypherer having then little to do, but to remember the power of the ſymbolic mark; whereas before, the properties of the thing or animal employed as a ſymbol, were to be learnt: in a word, this, together with their other *marks by inſtitution*, to deſign mental ideas, would reduce the characters to the preſent ſtate of the *Chineſe*. And theſe were properly what the ancients call HIEROGRAPHICAL [n]; uſed afterwards on ſubjects

[n] The account which a miſſionary jeſuit gives us of the ſeveral ſorts of writing amongſt the Chineſe will illuſtrate this matter: — *Parmi ces caracteres il y en a de pluſieurs ſortes. Les premiers ne ſont preſque plus d'uſage, & on ne les conſerve que pour faire honneur à l'antiquité. Les ſeconds beaucoup moins anciens n'ont place que dans les inſcriptions publiques: quand on en a beſoin, on conſulte les livres, & à la faveur des dictionnaires il eſt facile de les dechiffer. Les troiſiemes, beaucoup plus reguliers & plus beaux, ſervent dans l'impreſſion & même dans l'ecriture ordinaire. Neanmoins comme les traits en ſont bien formez*, il faut un temps conſiderable pour les écrire; c'eſt pour cela qu'on a trouvé une quatrieme eſpece d'ecriture, dont les traits pluz liez & moins diſtinguez les uns des autres, donnent la facilité d'ecrire plus viſte — *ces trois derniers caracteres ont entre eux beaucoup de reſſemblance, & reſpondent aſſez à nos lettres capitales, aux lettres d'impreſſion, & à l'ecriture ordinaire.* — *Nouveaux Memoires ſur l'etat preſent de la Chine, par le P. L. Le Comte*, tom. i. *Amſt.* 1698, p. 258—9. And here let me juſt take notice of a ridiculous miſtake into which the equivocation of the word *Notæ* (a term ſignifying as well *ſhort hand* characters, as *hieroglyphical*) drew a certain learned grammarian: who in a letter to his friend [*Gloſſ. Ant. Rom.* p. 414. ed. 1731.] undertaking to give the original of *ſhort hand characters*, rejects the account of the ancients (which makes them a Roman invention) to fetch them from the Barbarians; and will have them to be indeed the ſame as the *Ignorabiles Literæ* of the Egyptians (mentioned by Apuleius) and the preſent chineſe characters; that is, real *hieroglyphics*. But had he conſidered, that the *notes of ſhort hand* were marks for

PLATE IX.

J. Mynde fc.

Fig. 2.

…pus.
…dol it is we see worshiped Fig 1.
…g 2. on which is depicted the
…chers Oedipus.

ſubjects which had employed the ancient hieroglyphic, as we may ſee by what follows: Dr. Robert Huntington, in his *Account of the porphyry pillars in Egypt* [o], tells us, there are yet ſome ancient monuments remaining of this kind of writing:——"The Franks (ſays he) call theſe "pillars *Aguglia's*, and the Engliſh, in particu- "lar, *Cleopatra's needles*; but the inhabitants con- "tent themſelves with the general name of pillars. "They have no baſes or pedeſtals above ground; "and if they ever had any, they muſt needs be "very deep in the earth. The hieroglyphic "characters, wherewith they are engraven, are "probably the aboriginal egyptian letters, long "become obſolete, and they reſemble the chineſe "characters, each whereof repreſents a word, or "rather an entire ſentence; beſides they ſeem to "be written the ſame way, namely from top to "bottom." Apuleius [p], ſpeaking of his initiation into the myſteries of Iſis, deſcribes the ſacred book or ritual (which we find was written partly in *ſymbolic*, and partly in theſe *hierographic* characters of arbitrary inſtitution, reſembling the Chineſe) in this

for *words*, and the *notes of hieroglyphics* marks for *things*, he would have ſeen that they had no manner of relation to one another, but were of different original, and employed to different ends: He thinks, however, he has found a ſupport for his notion in St. Jerom; who, he ſays, tells us ſomewhere or other, that they came from the Barbarians: *Reſtant adhuc* NOTÆ, *quæ cum ex Barbarorum puto ortu natæ ſint, rationem amiſere.* But without ſearching for the place, and recurring to the context, we may ſafely pronounce, that St. Jerom meant here by NOTÆ, not *the notes of ſhort hand*, but *hieroglyphic notes*; by his ſaying of them *rationem amiſere*; which was not true of *ſhort hand notes*, but very true of *hieroglyphical*.

[o] *Phil. Tranſ.* N°. CLXI. p. 624. [p] *Metamorphoſis*, lib. ii.

manner:—" He [the Hierophant] drew out cer-
" tain books from the ſecret repoſitories of the Sanc-
" tuary, written in unknown characters, which con-
" tained the words of the ſacred Formula, compen-
" diouſly expreſſed, partly by FIGURES of animals,
" and partly by certain MARKS *or notes, intricately*
" *knotted, revolving in the manner of a wheel,* and
" crouded together and curled inward like the
" tendrels of a vine [q], ſo as to hide the meaning
" from the curioſity of the prophane [r]." The characters here deſcribed, may be ſeen in almoſt every compartment of the *Bembine-table*, between the larger human figures; and likewiſe on ſeveral of the *obeliſks*, where they are diſpoſed in the ſame manner. As we find theſe characters mixed with the *ſymbolic*, in the ritual of Apuleius; ſo in the *Bembine-table* we find them mixed both with the *proper hieroglyphic* and the *ſymbolic*.

III. And now this contracted manner of hieroglyphic writing called *hierographical*, will lead us, by an eaſy ſtep, to the *third* ſpecies, called by Porphyry and Clemens the EPISTOLIC: For now we are come to one of thoſe links of the chain which ſerved to connect *hieroglyphic marks* and *alphabetic letters*; the firſt of which contained *curiologic* or *ſymbolic* ſigns of things; the other compriſed ſigns of words by *arbitrary inſtitution*. For thoſe hieroglyphic marks which were SIGNS OF THINGS

[q] For a ſpecimen of the marks thus deſcribed, ſee plate IX fig. 1.

[r] *De opertis adyti profert quoſdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim figuris cujuſcemodi animalium, concepti ſermonis compendioſa verba ſuggerentes*; PARTIM NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, CAPREOLATIMQUE CONDENSIS APICIBUS, *a curioſitate profanorum lectione munita.*

BY

BY ARBITRARY INSTITUTION, partook of the proper hieroglyphics in being *signs for things*, and of alphabetic letters in being *signs by institution*. And the contrivance of employing these arbitrary marks to design all the primitive sounds of the human voice was inventing an *alphabet*. This was what the Egyptians called their EPISTOLIC writing. And, this, let me observe, the ancients agree was invented by the SECRETARY OF AN EGYPTIAN KING. A circumstance which will much conduce to the discovery of the cause of its original.

Now, as it is evident that every kind of hieroglyphic writing, when employed in public business to convey the royal commands to leaders of armies and distant governors, must be unavoidably attended with the inconveniencies of imperfect and obscure information, it was natural for our *Secretary* to set himself upon contriving a remedy: and this he found in the invention of the letters of an alphabet; serving to express *words*, not *things*; whereby all the inconveniencies of imperfect information, so fatal in nice conjunctures, were avoided, and the writer's mind delivered with the utmost clearness and precision: which too had this further advantage, that as the Government would endeavour to keep their invention to themselves, LETTERS OF STATE were, for some time, conveyed with the security of our modern cyphers[a]: and thus, being at first appropriated to the use of the cabinet, literary writing naturally acquired the name of EPISTO-

[a] It was an ancient custom, as Diodorus tells us, for the kings of Egypt to read all the letters of state, themselves. — ἔωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐγερθέντα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔδει πρῶτον τὰς παντάχοθεν ἀπεσταλμένας ἐπιστολάς, ἵνα δύναται πάντα κατὰ τρόπον χρηματίζειν καὶ πράττειν εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συντελουμένων. P. 44.

LARY[t]; which if you will not allow, no reaſonable account, I think, can be given of its title.

That

[t] To this, perhaps, it may be objected that *literary writing* had the name of *epiſtolary*, rather for its being afterwards employed in ſuch kind of compoſitions; becauſe Clemens Alexandrinus ſays, *That Atoſſa the Perſian empreſs was the firſt that wrote epiſtles:* and Tatian, where he gives a liſt of ſome Inventors, expreſſes himſelf, from Hellanicus the hiſtorian, in this manner, Ἐπιστολὰς ΣΥΝΤΑΣΣΕΙΝ ἐξεῦρεν ἡ Περσῶν ποτε ἡγησαμένη γυνὴ, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἄτοσσα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. But to this it may be replied, that the ſuppoſition of literary writing's having the name of *epiſtolary* from any later application of alphabetic letters to this ſort of compoſition, is very precarious: for it may be aſked, why rather a name from *epiſtles* than from any nobler ſort of compoſition, in which we muſt needs conclude letters had been employed, before the uſe of epiſtles, if epiſtles were ſo lately invented? But the truth is, if by συνθέσεων, which word Clemens likewiſe uſes, we are to underſtand the *compoſing*, and not the *artificial cloſing and ſealing* up of the tablets in which the Ancients wrote their epiſtles (the more natural ſenſe of the word, and an invention more to the genius of a court lady) we muſt needs ſay the whole ſtory of Atoſſa's invention is a very idle *one*, and worth only the attention of ſuch triflers as the writers *Of the invention of things*; from whence Tatian and Clemens had it: they might as well have enquired after the inventors of *ſpeech:* writing epiſtles being as early as the occaſions of communicating the thoughts at a diſtance; that is, as early as human commerce. We find in the *Il.* ζ ver. 169. Bellerophon carrying an epiſtle from Prætus to Iobates. "No, "ſays a great Critic, [See p. 539. of *the Diſſertation upon "Phalaris*] this was no epiſtle, as Pliny rightly remarks, but "*codicilli*; and Homer himſelf calls it πίνακ πτυκτὸν." I do not comprehend the force of the learned perſon's argument; the point between him and his noble adverſary was concerning the *thing*, not the *name*; but Pliny's obſervation, and his own, is concerning the *name*, not the *thing*. Let what *Bellerophon* carried be πίνακ πτυκτὸς, *ſmall leaves of wood covered with wax, and written upon by a pen of metal*, yet was it eſſentially an *epiſtle*, if Cicero's definition of an *epiſtle* be a true one: *Hoc eſt*, ſays he, *Epiſtolæ proprium, ut is ad quem ſcribitur, de iis rebus quas ignorat, certior fiat.* Why Pliny ſaid, this πίνακ πτυκτὸς was not an *epiſtle*, but a *codicil*, was becauſe ſmall leaves of wood covered with wax, when written on, were called by his countrymen *codicilli*; and a miſſive-paper, *epiſtola:* that this was his meaning

That this was, indeed, the fact, appears from Plato's account of Theuth's INVENTIONS. He tells us that when Theuth came to conſult his maſter, king Thamus, about communicating his diſcoveries to the people, παρὰ τοῦτον ἐλθὼν ὁ Θεὺθ τὰς τέχνας ἐπίδειξε, κ᾽ ἔφη δεῖν διαδοθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις, the king declared particularly againſt communicating the invention of LETTERS. But the reaſon he gives for the prohibition, we ſee, was not the principal and more immediate, (as it rarely is amongſt Politicians) but only a ſecondary, and more remote; namely, a regard to the intereſts of hieroglyphic learning: for the King tells his *Secretary*, that, if this ſecret ſhould be divulged, men's attention would be called away from THINGS, to which hieroglyphics, and the manner of explaining them, neceſſarily attached it, and be placed in exterior and arbitrary SIGNS, which would prove the greateſt hindrance to the progreſs of knowledge[u]. What is ſtill more pleaſant, and in the true genius of politics, even the reaſon given was thought fit to be diſguiſed: for tho' there might be ſome truth in this; yet, without doubt, the chief concern of the egyptian Prieſts was to continue themſelves uſeful; which they would be, while ſcience lay concealed in *hieroglyphics*.

Thus the reader finds, that the very contrary to the common opinion is the true; that it was the

meaning appears from the account he gives of the pretended *paper epiſtle of Serpedon* mentioned as a great rarity by Licinius Mucianus. [See the *Diſſert.* mentioned above.]

[u] Τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην μὲν ἐν ψυχαῖς παρέξει, μνήμης ἀμελετησίᾳ; ἅτε διὰ πίστιν γραφῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίων τύπων ἔκ ἐνδοθεν αὐτοὺς ὑφ᾽ αὑτῶν ἀναμιμνησκομένους. ἔκιν μνήμης, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπομνήσεως φαρμακὸν εὑρες, σοφίας δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δόξαν ἔκ ἀληθειαν πορίζεις. *Phæd.*

firſt literary writing, not the *firſt hieroglyphical*, which was invented for *ſecrecy*. In the courſe of time, indeed, they naturally changed their uſe; *letters* became common, and *hieroglyphics* hidden and myſterious.

But now it may be ſaid, that tho' the progreſs from a *Picture* to a ſimple *Mark* hath been traced out, ſtep by ſtep, and may be eaſily followed, till we come to that untried ground where ART takes the lead of nature, the point where *real* characters end and the *literary* begin; yet here, art ſeeing a precipice before her, which ſeems to divide the two characters to as great a diſtance as at firſt ſetting out, ſhe takes ſo immenſe a leap as hath been thought to exceed all human efforts: which made Tully ſay. Summæ ſapientiæ fuiſſe ſonos vocis[x], qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminare[y]; and many of the an-

[x] By *ſonos vocis* Cicero means *words:* It was impoſſible he could ever conceive that brute and inarticulate ſounds were almoſt infinite.—See what is ſaid on this matter below.

Long before this addition was made to the diſcourſe on Hieroglyphic writing, one of the ableſt Philoſophers of this age, M. l'Abbé de Condillac, in his *Eſſai ſur l'origine des connoiſſances humaines*, had the candour to ſay, that I had perfectly well diſcovered the progreſs by which men arrived to the invention of letters. Cette ſection [De L'ecriture] ſays he, etoit preſque achevée, quand *l'Eſſai ſur les Hieroglyphes* traduit de l' Anglois de M. Warburton me tomba entre les mains: Ouvrage ou l'eſprit philoſophique et l'erudition régnent egalement, &c. mes propres reflexions m'avoient auſſi conduit à remarquer que l'écriture n'avoit d'abord été qu' une ſimple peinture: mais je n'avois point encore tenté de découvrir par quels progrès on étoit arrivé a l'invention des lettres, et il me paroiſſoit difficile d'y reuſſir. La choſe a été parfaitement executée par M. Warburton, p. 178, *ſec. partie.*—My own countrymen have been leſs candid: and to them the above addition is owing.

[y] Tuſc. i. 25.

cients

cients to believe that LITERARY WRITING was an invention of the Gods.

However, if we would but reflect a little on the nature of ſound, and its unheeded connexion with the objects of ſight, we ſhould be able to conceive how the chaſm cloſed, and how the paſſage from a *real* to a *literary* character was begun and ſmoothed out.

While the picture, or image of the thing repreſented, continued to be objected to the ſight of the reader, it could raiſe no idea but of the thing itſelf. But when the *picture* loſt its form, by being contracted into a *mark* or *note*, the view of this mark or note would, in courſe of time, as naturally raiſe, in the mind, the *ſound* expreſſing the idea of the thing, as the idea itſelf. How this extenſion, from the idea to the ſound, in the uſe of the real character firſt aroſe, will be eaſily conceived by thoſe who reflect on the numerous tribe of words in all languages, which is formed on the ſound emitted by the thing or animal [z].

Yet the uſe to which this new connexion might be applied, would never be thought of till the nature of human ſounds had been well ſtudied.

But when men had once obſerved, (and this they could but obſerve early and eaſily, by the brute and inarticulate ſounds which they were perpetually hearing emitted) how ſmall the number is of primitive ſounds, and how infinite the words are

[z] For example, (to uſe the words of St. Auſtin) when we ſay in latin, æris *tinnitum*, equorum *hinnitum*, ovium *balatum*, tubarum *clangorem*, *ſtridorem* catenarum, perſpicis hæc verba ita ſonare, ut res quæ his verbis ſignificantur.

which

which may be formed by varied combinations of thoſe ſimple ſounds, it would naturally and eaſily occur to them, that a very few of thoſe *marks*, which had before caſually excited the ſenſation of thoſe ſimple ſounds, might be ſelected and formed into what has been ſince called an alphabet, to expreſs them all: And then, their old accuſtomed way of combining primitive ſounds into words, would as naturally and eaſily direct them to a like combination of what were now become the ſimple marks of ſound; from whence would ariſe LITERARY WRITING.

In the early language of men, the ſimple, primitive ſounds would be uſed, whether out of choice or neceſſity, as ſignificative words or terms, to denote the moſt obvious of thoſe things with which they perpetually converſed. Theſe ſounds, without arbitrary inſtitution, would incite the idea of the thing, ſometimes, as its *audible image*, ſometimes, as its *natural repreſentative*. Therefore the old *marks* for things, to which words of this original belonged, would certainly be firſt thought of for the figures of thoſe *alphabetic* letters by the ingenious inventer of this wonderful contrivance. And, in fact, this which appears ſo natural has been found to be actually the caſe: the moſt early *alphabets* being framed from the outlines of thoſe figures in the real characters, which, by uſe, in their *hieroglyphic* ſtate, had arrived at the facility of exciting, in the mind, the SOUND as well as THING [a].

IV. But this *political* alphabet, as at firſt it was, ſoon occaſioned the invention of another called SACRED: for the prieſts having a ſhare in the

[a] Plate VIII.

Government,

Government, muſt have an early communication of the ſecret; and being now immerged in deep philoſophy, they would naturally employ, in their hidden doctrines, a method ſo well adapted to convey abſtract ſpeculations with exactneſs and preciſion. But the various uſes of an Alphabet in civil buſineſs not permitting it to continue long a ſecret, when it ceaſed to be ſo, they would as naturally invent another alphabetic character for their *ſacred* uſe: which from that appropriation was called HIEROGRAMMATICAL.

That the Egyptian prieſts had ſuch a *ſacred alphabetic character*, we are informed by Herodotus: —"The Greeks (ſays he) write their letters, "and make their computations with counters, "from the left to the right; the Egyptians, on "the contrary, from the right to the left.— "They uſe two ſorts of letters, one of which they "called *ſacred*, the other *popular* [b]." Diodorus is yet more expreſs; "the PRIESTS (ſay he) taught "their ſons two ſorts of letters, the one called "*ſacred*, the other, the common and *popular* [c]," Clemens Alexandrinus goes ſtill farther, and deſcribes the very books in which this *ſacred alphabet* was principally employed: And as the place, where he explains this matter, is very curious, and contributes to the farther illuſtration of the ſubject, I ſhall conſider it more at large. It hath been ſhewn that Clemens, in the paſſage quoted above, underſtood

[b] Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι, Ἕλληνες μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. — διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱρά, τὰ δὲ, δημοτικὰ καλέονται. lib. ii. cap. 36.

[c] Παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς οἱ μὲν Ἱερεῖς γράμματα δύο, τά τε ἱερὰ καλούμενα, καὶ τὰ κοινότερα· ἔχουσι τὴν μάθησιν. p. 51.

what he called the *ſacerdotal*, ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΜ to be an *alphabetic* character. Now the ſame writer ſpeaking in another place[d] of the forty-two books of Hermes, which contained all the civil and religious ſcience of the Egyptians, informs us, that ten of theſe books were called *ſacerdotal*, and were the particular ſtudy of the chief prieſt, — προσάτης τῦ ἱερῦ τὰ ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΑ καλύμενα ἱ βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει. Theſe ten, therefore, were written in a *ſacred alphabetic character*; though, as we learn from him in the ſame place, all the various kinds of *ſacred characters* were employed in the compoſition of theſe forty-two books; for ſome were written in hieroglyphics; as he tells us, where he ſpeaks of the ſacred ſcribe, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſtudy thoſe called *hieroglyphical*, — τῦτον τά τε ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΑ καλύμενα· And, what is very remarkable, we find the ſubject of theſe to be of a popular and civil nature, ſuch as coſmography, geography, the ſimple elements of aſtronomy, the chorography of Egypt, the deſcription of the Nile[e], &c. conformable to what has been laid down concerning the uſe and application of the moſt early hieroglyphics. Others again of theſe books were written in *ſymbols*, particularly thoſe two which the chanter had in care:—ὁ ᾠδὸς ἕν τι τῶν τῆς μυστικῆς ἐπιφερόμενος ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ· τῦτον φασὶ δύο βίβλυς ἀνειληφέναι δεῖν ἐκ τῦ Ἑρμῦ. Here then we have all the three ſpecies of ſacred writing, the *hieroglyphic*, the *ſymbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic* or *ſacerdotal*; the laſt of which, as we hold, was by letters of an *alphabet*.

[d] *Strom.* lib. vi. p. 633, 634.

[e] —περὶ τε τῆς κοσμογραφίας, καὶ γεωγραφίας, τῆς τάξεως τῦ ἡλίυ καὶ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐ πλανωμένων· χωρογραφίαν τε τῆς Αἰγύπτυ, καὶ τῆς τῦ Νείλυ διαγραφῆς.

But

But an ALPHABET for ſecrecy, and conſequently different from the vulgar, was a thing in uſe amongſt the prieſthood of almoſt all nations. Philo Biblius, in Euſebius, ſpeaking of Sanchoniatho's hiſtory, tells us, that the author compoſed it by the aſſiſtance of certain records which he found in the temples written in AMMONEAN LETTERS[f], not underſtood by the people: theſe ammonean letters Bochart explains to be ſuch as the prieſts uſed in ſacred matters[g]. Diogenes Laertius informs us, from Thraſyllus, that Democritus wrote two books, the one of the *ſacred letters of the Babylonians*, the other of the *ſacred letters of the city Meroë*[h]: and concerning theſe laſt, Heliodorus ſaith, that the Ethiopians had two ſorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the regal reſem-

[f] — ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὐρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμωνίων γράμμασι συγκειμένοις, ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα. — *Præp. Evang.* lib. cap. 9.

[g] Ammoneorum, i. e. *Ammanim*—Abenezra in LEVIT. xxvi. 30. *Templa facta ad cultum Solis.* Quod veriſſimum; Sol enim Hebræis eſt *amma*, unde *amman* templum Solis, quem ſolum Cœli Dominum crediderunt priſci Phœnices. Sanchoniathon, τοῦτον γὰρ (τὸν ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον. Itaque hic præcipue cultus. Tamen, creſcente ſuperſtitione, crediderim nomen *Ammanim* etiam ad alia delubra pertinuiſſe. Itaque *literæ Ammoneorum* ſeu *Ammanim* ſunt literæ templorum, literæ in ſacris receptæ. *Geogr. Sacr.* par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 17.

[h] Τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων· περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόῃ ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. *In Vit. Democr.* Segm. xlix. lib. 9. But Reineſius and Menage, not apprehending there was any ſacred myſterious writing out of Egypt and its confines, will have the *Babylon* here mentioned to be Babylon in Egypt; but they ſhould have reflected how unlikely it was, if Democritus had choſen to write of the *ſacred letters of the Egyptians*, that he ſhould denominate his diſcourſe from a place not at all celebrated for their uſe, when there were ſo many other that theſe characters had rendered famous.

bled

ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ καὶ ἀποδεθεισῶν ἐν βίβλοις; &c. — γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ in ſpeaking of the tranſlation, being the very words juſt before employed in ſpeaking of the original and with great propriety: for ἱερογραφικὰ was uſed by the ancients as a generic term, to ſignify as well *ſacred letters* compoſing *words*, as *ſacred marks* ſtanding for *things*; ἱερογλυφικὰ not ſo, but denoting only *marks for things*: ſo that the plain and ſenſible meaning of the paſſage is, that a work written by the firſt Hermes, in the *ſacred dialect* and *ſacred letters*, was tranſlated, by the ſecond Hermes, into the *greek dialect*; the original *ſacred letters* being ſtill employed. And the reaſon is evident; the greek tranſlation was for the uſe of the Egyptians: but ſuch would be ſooneſt invited to the ſtudy of a foreign dialect when written in their own letters: a common inducement for tranſlators into a foreign language, to preſerve the original character. Beſides, this verſion was not for the Egyptians in general, but for the prieſts only; and therefore their peculiar character was preſerved.

We now begin to ſee that the whole extravagance in this account, which made it rejected by the Critics with ſo much contempt, is only in the high antiquity given to the fact; and this, the very circumſtance of the fact refutes: for it not only tells us of *ſacred alphabetic letters*, which we have ſhewn to be of late uſe amongſt the Egyptians but likewiſe of a *ſacred dialect*, which certainly was ſtill later: And, if I be not much miſtaken, a paſſage in Herodotus will lead us to the time when this tranſlation was made. The hiſtorian tells us that when Pſammiticus, by the aſſiſtance of the Ionians and Carians, had ſubdued all Egypt, he place

placed theſe greek adventurers on both ſides the Nile; where he aſſigned them lands and habitations, and ſent among them Egyptian youths to be inſtructed in the greek language; from whence ſprung the State-interpreters for that tongue[q]: Thus far the hiſtorian; from whoſe account of Pſammitichus's project it appears, that his purpoſe was to eſtabliſh a conſtant intercourſe with the grecian nations. The youth picked out for interpreters were, without queſtion, of the prieſthood, all letters and learning reſiding in that order; which had likewiſe a great ſhare in the public adminiſtration. And now the prieſthood having the greek tongue amongſt them, which its uſe in public affairs would make them diligently cultivate, Where was the wonder that, about this time, ſome of theſe interpreters, Ἑρμηνέες, ſhould employ themſelves in tranſlating the *ſacred* Egyptian records into the grecian language?

But then as to the preciſe time of the invention of EGYPTIAN LETTERS, it can never be ſo much as gueſſed at; becauſe *hieroglyphics* continued to be in uſe long after that time; particularly on their public Monuments; where we find no appearance of alphabetic characters. However, that *letters* were very early, we have ſhewn above as

[q] — Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ, τοῖσι συναλιεσαμένοισι αὐτῷ, ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δόσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τῷ Νείλῳ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντι· — καὶ δὴ παῖδας παρέδωκε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδασκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, οἱ τῶν Ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. *Euterp.* l. ii c. 154. Hence it appears that the learned Dr. Prideaux was miſtaken when he ſaid — *But the worſt of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not ſpeak Greek; the Ptolemys firſt brought that language amongſt them.*——Connection, part ii. lib. i. p. 12.

well from other circumſtances, as from this, the giving the invention of them to the Gods[r].

Thoſe who are for deriving all civil improvements from the line of *Abraham*, of courſe, beſtow upon it the invention of an Alphabet. But as this fancy is only amongſt the looſe ends of an hypotheſis, without any foundation in Scripture, theſe critics differ much about the time. Some ſuppoſe *letters* to have been in uſe amongſt the Patriarchs; and, by them, tranſmitted to the Egyptians; but there are ſuch ſtrong objections to this opinion, (to mention no other than, the Patriarch's ſending verbal meſſages where it was more natural as well as more expedient to ſend them written) that others have thought proper to bring down the time to that of Moses[s]: When God, they ſay, taught him the uſe of *alphabetic* letters, in the exemplar of the two tables written, as the text aſſures us, *with the Finger of GOD*. But how, from words, which at moſt, only imply that the ten commandments were miraculouſly engraved as well as dictated, it can be concluded that letters were then firſt invented, I have not logic enough to find out. A common reader would be apt to infer from it, that letters were now well known to the Iſraelites, as God had thought fit to deliver the firſt elements of their religion in that kind of writing; I ſay, he would be thus apt to infer,

[r] See p. 63. of this volume.

[s] I have the pleaſure to find, that ſo ſenſible a writer as the celebrated Mr. *Aſtruc*, in his *Conjectures ſur la Geneſe*, has eſpouſed this opinion, that *alphabetic writing* was in uſe amongſt the Egyptians before the time of Moſes: He has likewiſe adopted the arguments here employed in ſupport of it, as well as this whole theory of *hieroglyphic writing*.

though

though MOSES had never ſpoken of them on other occaſions (which he hath done) as of things in familiar uſe[t]: But if GOD was indeed the revealer of the artifice, how happened it that the hiſtory of ſo important a circumſtance was not recorded? for as we ſhall ſee preſently, the *Memory* of it would have been one of the ſtrongeſt barriers to idolatry.

However, though I think it next to certain that MOSES brought letters, with the reſt of his learn-

[t] EXOD. xxviii. 21. *And the ſtones ſhall be with the names of the children of* Iſrael, *twelve, according to their names:* LIKE THE ENGRAVINGS OF A SIGNET, *every one with his name ſhall they be, according to the twelve tribes.* And again, ver. 36. *And thou ſhalt make a Plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a ſignet,* HOLINESS TO THE LORD. Had letters been invented by MOSES, and unknown till then to the Iſraelites, would he not naturally have ſaid, when he directed the workmen to engrave names and ſentences on ſtones and gold, — *and in theſe engravings you ſhall employ the alphabetic characters which I have now invented and taught you the uſe of?* On the contrary he gives them a very different direction; he refers them to a model in familiar uſe,—*like the engravings of a ſignet.* For the ancient people of the Eaſt engraved names and ſentences on their ſeals, juſt as the Mahometan princes do at preſent. — Mr. Fleuri with great ingenuity confeſſes the high perfection of the arts at this time amongſt the Iſraelites. "Ils ſçavoient tailler & graver les pierres "precieuſes. Ils etoient Menuiſiers, Tapiſſieurs, Brodeurs "& Parfumeurs. Entre ces arts, il y en a deux que "j'admire principalement: la taille des pierreries, & la "fonte des figures, telles qu' étoient les Chérubins de l'Ar-"che & le Veau d'or. Ceux qui ont tant ſoit peu con-"noiſſance des arts, ſçavent combien il faut d'artifices & de "machines pour ces ouvrages. Si des-lors on les avoit trou-"vées, on avoit déja bien raffiné, même dans les arts qui ne "ſervent qu'à l'ornement; & ſi l'on avoit quelque ſecret pour "faire les mêmes choſes plus facilement, c'étoit encore une "plus grand perfection, ce qui ſoit dit en paſſant, pour mon-"trer que cette antiquité ſi eloignée n'etoit pas groſſiére & ig-"norante, comme pluſieurs s'imaginent." *Moeurs des Iſraelites,* ſect. 9.

ing, from Egypt, yet I could be eaſily perſuaded to believe that he both enlarged the alphabet, and altered the ſhapes of the letters [u]. 1. The hebrew alphabet, which he employed in the compoſition of the pentateuch, is conſiderably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus was of Thebes in Egypt; he ſojourned in Syria, and went from thence into Greece: His country ſhews that his letters were Egyptian; and this, their difference in number from the hebrew, ſufficiently confirms. Cadmus having only ſixteen, and the Hebrews two and twenty. 2. That Moses likewiſe altered the ſhape of the Egyptian letters I think probable; all hieroglyphic writing was abſolutely forbidden by the ſecond commandment, and with a view worthy the divine wiſdom; hieroglyphics being, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the great ſource of their idolatries and ſuperſtitions. But now alphabetic letters, (which henceforth could be only uſed amongſt the Hebrews) being taken by the Egyptians [x] from their hieroglyphic figures, retained, as was natural, much of the ſhapes of thoſe characters: to cut off therefore all occaſion of danger from ſymbolic images, Moses, as I ſuppoſe,

[u] A certain anonymous writer, quoted by Crinitus from an ancient MS, in his *de honeſta diſciplina*, is of this opinion. But I quote him chiefly for his pacific diſpoſition to accommodate and compromiſe matters, by giving every nation its ſhare in the glory of the invention; not, I mean, of the alphabetic *powers*, but of the various alphabetic *characters*.

" Moſes primus Hebraicas exaravit literas;
" Mente Phœnices ſagaci condiderunt Atticas;
" Quas Latini ſcriptitamus, edidit Nicoſtrata;
" Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaicas;
" Iſis arte non minore, protulit Ægyptiacas;
" Gulfila promſit Getarum, quas videmus, literas.

[x] See p. 83, 84. of this volume.

altered

altered the ſhapes of the Egyptian letters, and reduced them into ſomething like thoſe ſimple forms in which we now find them. Thoſe who in much later ages, converted the northern pagans to the chriſtian Faith obſerved the ſame caution. For the characters of the northern alphabet, called RUNIC, having been abuſed to magical ſuperſtition, were then changed to the *Roman*.——Tantas in his *Runis* (ſays Sheringham) latere virtutes Gothi ante fidem ſuſceptam rati ſunt, ut ſive hoſtium caput diris ſacrandum, ſive peſtis morbique amoliendi, ſive aliud opus ſuſcipiendum ſe incantationibus *Runiſque* muniebant—Poſt fidem vero ſuſceptam *Runæ*, qui incantationibus præſtigiisque magicis in tantum adhibitæ fuerint, adeo faſtidiri cœperunt, ut multi libri, multaque antiqua monumenta exinde præpoſtero zelo dejecta atque deleta ſunt: unde hiſtoria Getica magnum detrimentum clademque accepit. Tandem vero, teſte Loccenio, Sigfridi epiſcopi Britannici opera (Papa etiam romano ſuam operam præſtante) eò res devenit ut *Runæ* in Sueciâ A. DML. penitus abolerentur; & characteres Latini ſubſtituerentur [y].

This account will reconcile the differing ſyſtems of Marſham and Renaudot; one of whom contends [z], that the letters which Cadmus brought into Greece were Egyptian; the other, that they were Phenician [a]; and both of them appeal to the authority of Herodotus; who ſays plainly, "that the *alphabet brought by Cadmus into Greece was Egyptian*; and yet, ſpeaking of the three moſt ancient inſcriptions in Greece, he ſays, *they were in Phenician characters*, which very much reſembled the

[y] *De Anq. gent. orig.* p. 292—3.
[z] Can. Chron.
[a] Sur l'origine des lettres Grecques.

ionic:" for if what has been here ſuppoſed be allowed, then the alphabet which Cadmus carried with him was doubtleſs of Moſes's invention, as to the *form*, but Egyptian, as to the *power*. It may be juſt worth obſerving that Renaudot's diſcourſe is full of paralogiſms, which this ſolution detects.

3. To this let me add another conſideration. The vowel-points (as ſeems now to be generally agreed on) were added ſince the Jews ceaſed to be a Nation. The hebrew language was originally, and ſo continued to be, for a long time written without them. Now if God firſt taught Moſes an alphabet, can we believe that the vowels would have been thus generally omitted? But ſuppoſe Moſes learnt his alphabet of the Egyptians, and only made it fuller, and altered the form of the letters, we may eaſily give a good account of the omiſſion. The Egyptian alphabet, as we obſerved, was invented for preciſion, and uſed for ſecrecy. Both ends were anſwered by an alphabet with hardly any vowels.

Thus we ſee that the form of alphabetic characters was a matter of much importance to the Hebrews, as to the integrity of their religion. If therefore, God was the immediate author of them, it is difficult to ſuppoſe that Moſes could omit to record the hiſtory of their invention, ſuch a hiſtory being the beſt ſanction to recommend their uſe; and the beſt ſecurity againſt a return to the idolatrous practice of hieroglyphic-writing; to which this people, ſo fond of Egyptian manners, were violently inclined.

But we have not yet done with Manetho; The laſt circumſtance opening the way to another diſcovery

covery of great importance in the egyptian antiquities: for by this paſſage we find they had not only *ſacred characters and letters*, but a *ſacred* DIALECT or *language* alſo; for what he here calls ἱερὰ διάλεκτος, in another place (where he interprets a certain Word in this language) he calls ἱερὰ γλῶσσα [b]. It might perhaps be imagined that this *ſacred dialect* was only the more ancient egyptian language; which being now grown into diſuſe, was preſerved amongſt the prieſthood: But if we conſider the ſmall and ſlow change to which the eaſtern languages were ſubject; eſpecially that of a people who admitted ſo little of foreign manners, we can ſcarce believe this to have been the caſe. Beſides, the *ſacred dialect* was uſed for ſecrecy, (being known only to the prieſts) which could never be the condition of a national language, how obſolete ſoever we may ſuppoſe it to be grown. All this conſidered, I take the *ſacred dialect* to have been a language of their own framing; and one of their lateſt expedients for keeping their ſcience to themſelves. We have ſhewn how, for the ſake of exactneſs, as they grew more ſpeculative, they invented an alphabet to expreſs their conceptions by marks for *words*, inſtead of marks for *things:* But the ſimple myſtery of a peculiar alphabet, employed in a common tongue, would be ſoon detected; they therefore, as now it appears, invented a peculiar language for the uſe of their alphabet; and thus, under a double cover, effectually ſecured their hidden ſcience. The way of framing the *ſacred dialect*, I ſuppoſe, to be this, They

[b] Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος ΥΚΣΩΣ, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι βασιλεῖς ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ΥΚ καθ' ἹΕΡΑΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ΣΩΣ ποιμὴν ἐστι κ᾽ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ, κ᾽ οὕτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται ΥΚΣΩΣ. *Apud Joſeph. cont. Ap.* lib. i cap. 14.

called things by the names of their hieroglyphical repreſentatives: Thus Yk in the egyptian tongue ſignifying a ſerpent; and a ſerpant, in their hieroglyphics, denoting a king [c], Yk, as Manetho informs us above, ſignified a king in the *ſacred dialect:* And in this manner, their hieroglyphics became a ſufficient fund for a new language.

On the whole then it appears that the Egyptian prieſts had theſe three methods of ſecreting their recorded knowlege; by HIEROGLYPHIC SYMBOLS, by a SACERDOTAL ALPHABET, and by a SACRED DIALECT. In explaining their ſeveral natures, and diſtinguiſhing them from the *proper hieroglyphic*, I have endeavoured to diſembroil a ſubject which ſeems to have perplexed even the Ancients themſelves; who in their accounts of the egyptian literature, perpetually confound the ſeveral ſpecies of *ſacred writing*, with one another. What greatly contributed to this confuſion, I preſume, was the ſacerdotal practice of promiſcuouſly uſing, in one and the ſame book or literary monument, the ſeveral various ſpecies of *ſacred writing*; that is to ſay, the *proper hieroglyphic*, the *ſymbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic*; as was done in compoſing the Bembine table, and the myſtic ritual deſcribed by Apuleius.

Thus we find how it happened that that which had its origin in *neceſſity*, came, in time, to be employed for *ſecrecy*, and was at length, improved into an *ornament*. But now, in the inceſſant revolutions of things, this imagery, which was at firſt invented for open communication, and was from thence converted into myſtery, at length reſumed

[c] *Horapollo*, lib. i. cap. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

its

its primitive uſe; and, in the flouriſhing ages of Greece and Rome, was employed in their monuments and medals as the ſhorteſt and plaineſt method of conveying men's conceits: and a SYMBOL, which, in Egypt, was pregnant with profound wiſdom, was in thoſe places, the vocabulary of the people.

To illuſtrate theſe ſeveral changes and revolutions, we ſhall once again take up our inſtance from LANGUAGE; (which ſtill, in all its minuter alterations and improvements, ran parallel with WRITING) and ſhew, how the original expedient, to communicate our thoughts in converſe, the rude effort of *neceſſity*, came in time, like the firſt hieroglyphics, to be turned into *myſtery*, and afterwards improved into the arts of *eloquence* and perſuaſion.

I. It hath been already ſhewn, in the fable of Jotham, how the *Apologue* correſponded to the *proper Egyptian hieroglyphic*; and was invented only to preſent a ſenſible image to the unimproved conception of the hearer.

As the change of the object, which the fable introduced, made it exactly anſwer to the *tropical* hieroglyphic; ſo that ſort of PROSOPOPOEIA, which the fable much employed, repreſenting a multitude under the image of one, made it equally correſpond with the *curiological* hieroglyphic.

II. But now, in after times, either when men began to affect myſtery, or their ſubject to require ſecrecy, they gradually changed the *Apologue* or fable, by quaint and far-fetched alluſions, into a PARABLE, on ſet purpoſe to throw obſcurity over the

the information; juſt as the *tropical hieroglyphic* was turned into the *tropical ſymbol.* We find innumerable inſtances of this mode of ſpeech in Scripture: Thus God by the prophet Ezekiel: —"Son of man, utter a PARABLE unto the re-"bellious houſe, and ſay unto them, Thus ſaith "the LORD GOD, Set on a pot, ſet it on, and "alſo pour water into it: gather the pieces there-"of into it, even every good piece, the thigh and "the ſhoulder, fill it with the choice bones. "Take the choice of the flock, and burn alſo the "bones under it, and make it boil well, and let "them ſeeth the bones of it therein [d]."

And in this manner was the *Parable* employed both amongſt the Orientaliſts and Greeks: and thus the Jews underſtood it, as appears by the complaint of the prophet: "Ah LORD! they ſay of "me, Doth he not ſpeak PARABLES [e];" and by this denunciation of our LORD himſelf; "Unto "you it is given to know the *myſteries* of the king-"dom of GOD; but to others in PARABLES; that "ſeeing they might not ſee, and hearing they "might not underſtand [f]." And thus that great maſter of grecian eloquence, Demetrius Phalereus, explains it: "The allegory is uſed (ſays he) as a "covering and diſguiſe to the diſcourſe [g]."

III. We have obſerved, that the *Symbol* the more it receded from the proper Hieroglyphic, the more it became obſcure; till it divided itſelf, at length, into two ſorts, the *tropical* and the *enigmatical:* Juſt

[d] EZEK. xxiv. 3, *& ſeq.* [e] EZEK. xx. 49.
[f] LUKE viii. 10.

[g] — ὥσπερ συσκιάζομεν τὸν λόγον, τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ χρώμενοι. *De Eloc.* ſect. 100.

ſo

so again it was with the *Parable*, which (answering to the *tropical symbol)* grew more and more mysterious, till it became a RIDDLE; and this again exactly corresponded to the *enigmatical* Hieroglyphic.

This, in sacred Scripture is called a DARK SAYING ταῖ' ἐξοχήν· For the nature of God's dispensation required enigmas; and the genius of those times made them natural. The prophet Ezekiel will furnish us with an example:—" And the word of " the LORD (says he) came unto me, saying, Son " of man, put forth a RIDDLE, and speak a *Parable* unto the house of Israel; and say, Thus saith " the LORD GOD, A great eagle with great " wings, long winged, full of feathers, which " had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and " took the highest branch of the cedar; he cropt " off the top of his young twigs, and carried it " into a land of traffic [h], &c." In the interpretation of these *Riddles* consisted much of the old eastern Wisdom, according to the observation of the Wise-man: " A man of understanding (says he) " shall attain unto wise counsels; to understand a " Proverb and the interpretation; the words of " the Wise and their DARK SAYINGS [i]." It was the custom too, as we learn from Scripture [k] (and it lasted long, as we learn from Josephus [l],) for the Sages of those times to send or offer RIDDLES to each other, for a trial of sagacity, to the exposi-

[h] Chap. xvii. ver. 2. & *seq.* [i] PROV. i. 5, 6.
[k] JUDGES xiv. 12, 13, 14.

[l] — καὶ Σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΩΔΕΙΣ διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τούτους σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν, οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. viii. cap. 5.

tion

tion of which, rewards and penalties were annexed [m]; ſo that the preſent of a *riddle* was ſometimes only a ſtratagem for a booty: hence, the *underſtanding dark ſentences* became proverbial amongſt the Hebrews to ſignify the arts of fraud and deceit; as may be collected from the character given by Daniel of Antiochus Epiphanes: "And in the latter time of "their kingdom, when the tranſgreſſors are come "to the full, a king of fierce countenance and UN-"DERSTANDING DARK SENTENCES ſhall ſtand "up [n]."

The myſterious cover to this kind of wiſdom made it (as always ſuch a cover will) the moſt high priſed accompliſhment: ſo when the Pſalmiſt would raiſe and engage the attention of his audience, he begins his ſong in this manner: "Hear, all ye "people, give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world: "both low and high, rich and poor together. My "mouth ſhall ſpeak of wiſdom, and the medita-"tion of my heart ſhall be of underſtanding. I "WILL INCLINE MINE EAR TO A PARABLE; I "WILL OPEN MY DARK SAYING UPON THE "HARP [o]." For as a great Critic in ſacred and profane learning rightly obſerves upon the place: *Pſalmi hujus auctor, quo auditores attentos reddat, his promittit ſe de rebus maximis, & in quibus ſumma ſapientia poſita ſit, dicturum; & in carmine hoc componendo artem quam potuit maximam adhibuit, ut materia dignum redderet* [p].

[m] Διὸς — τὸν δὲ τυραννεῖα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν Εἰραμον ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ, ἡ παρ' αὐτῷ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυνηθέντα διαλῦσαι, τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. — *Id. ib.*

[n] Chap. viii. ver. 23. [o] Psal. xlix. 4. [p] *Pſalmorum Liber in Verſiculos metrice diviſus &c.* Ed. Hare, *Epiſc. Cicſt.* p. 265.

And

And as, in the improved art of WRITING by *Symbols*, the Egyptians, (as well to give it the air of learning and elegance, as to cloud it with a variegated obſcurity) ſtudied all the ſingular *properties of beings*, and their *relations*, in order to fit them for repreſentatives of other things; ſo in the art of SPEAKING, men ſoon began to adorn thoſe modes of information juſt now mentioned, with *tropes and figures*; till at length Poſterity began to doubt about the original of *figurative expreſſion*; even as they had doubted about the original of *hieroglyphic painting*: whereas in truth, the firſt, like the latter, owed its birth to mere want and ruſticity; that is, a want of words, and ruſticity of conception. To give an inſtance of the firſt want, in the PLEONASM; of the latter, in the METAPHOR: for eaſtern ſpeech abounds with theſe *figures*; they conſtitute its pride and beauty; and to excel in them, conſiſts the art of their orators and poets.

1. The *Pleonaſm* evidently aroſe from the narrowneſs of a ſimple language: the hebrew, in which this figure abounds, is the ſcantieſt of all the learned languages of the eaſt: *Amant* (ſays Grotius) *Hebræi verborum copiam; itaque rem eandem multis verbis exprimunt*[q]. He does not tell us the reaſon; but it is ſeen above, and appears to be the true: for when the ſpeaker's phraſe comes not up to his ideas (as in a ſcanty language it often will not) he naturally endeavours to explain himſelf by a repetition of the thought in other words; as he whoſe body is ſtraiten'd in room is never relieved but by a continual change of poſture. We may obſerve this to happen fre-

[q] In HAB. ii. 1.

quently

quently in common converſation; where the conception of the ſpeaker is ſtronger than his expreſſion. The moſt ſcanty language therefore will be always fulleſt of repetitions, which is the only *copia* in *that* which Grotius ſpeaks of.

2. The *Metaphor* aroſe as evidently from ruſticity of conception, as the *pleonaſm* from the want of words. The firſt ſimple ages, uncultivated, and immerged in ſenſe, could expreſs their rude conceptions of abſtract Ideas, and the reflex operations of the mind, only by material images; which, ſo applied, became *metaphors*. This, and not the warmth of a florid and improved fancy, as is commonly ſuppoſed, was the true original of figurative expreſſion. We ſee it even at this day in the ſtyle of the American ſavages, tho' of the coldeſt and moſt phlegmatic complexions, ſuch as the Iroquois of the northern continent; of whom a learned miſſionary ſays: "They affect a lively cloſe expreſſion, "like the Lacedemonians; yet for all that their "ſtyle is *figurative*, and wholly *metaphorical*[r]." Their

[r] Les Iroquois, comme les Lacedemoniens, veulent un diſcours vif & concis; leur Style eſt cependant figuré, & *tout metaphorique*. *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains comparées aux Mœurs des premiers Temps, par Lafitau*, tom. i. p. 480. 4to. And of the various languages of all the people on that great continent in general, he expreſſeth himſelf thus, La plûpart de ces Peuples Occidentaux, quoiqu' avec des Langues tres differentes, ont cependant à peu pres la même genie, la même façon de penſer, et les même tours pour s'exprimer, tom. ii. p. 481. *Condamine* gives pretty much the ſame account of the Savages of South America. Speaking of their languages he ſays, pluſieurs ſont energiques & ſuſceptibles d'eloquence, &c. p. 54. which can mean no other than that their terms are highly figurative. But this is the univerſal genius of the language of Barbarians. *Egede*, in his *hiſtory of Greenland*, ſays, *the Language is very rich of words and ſenſe; and of ſuch* ENERGY, *that*

Their phlegm could only make their ſtyle conciſe, not take away the figures; and the conjunction of theſe different characters in it, ſhews plainly that *metaphors* were from neceſſity, not choice. The very ſame character, in other words, Diodorus gives of the ſtyle of the ancient Gauls: *In converſation*, ſays he, *they uſe the utmoſt brevity, attended with a highly figurative obſcurity: their ſpeech abounds with a licentious kind of Synecdoche, which leaves much to the hearer to unriddle and divine; and alſo with hyperboles* [*]. —

that one is often at a loſs, and puzzled to render it in Daniſh. p. 165. This *energy* is apparently what the French Miſſionary calls *tout metaphorique*. Quintilian, ſpeaking of *metaphors*, ſays, Qua quidem cum ita eſt ab ipſa nobis conceſſa natura, ut indocti quoque ac non ſentientes ea frequenter utantur, lib. viii. c. 6. which ſhews, by the way, that Quintilian did not apprehend their true cauſe or original.—By all this may be ſeen how much M. Bullet miſtakes the matter, where, in his *Memoires ſur la langue Celtique*, he ſays, "*Dans les pays chauds* une imagina- "tion ardente decouvre aiſement la plus petite reſſemblance qu' "une choſe peut avoir avec une autre. Elle voit d' abord, "par exemple, la report qui ſe trove entre un homme cruel & "une bête feroce; et pour faire connoitre qu' elle apperçoit "cette reſſemblance elle donne a cet homme le nom de Tigre. "*Voila l'origine du langage figure & metaphorique.* Dans *les* "*Pays froides*, ou l'imagination n'a pas une vivacité pareille on "ſe ſert *de termi propres pour exprimer chaque choſe*, ou appelle "tout par ſon nom." Vol. i. p. 6. But we find the fact to be juſt otherwiſe.

[*] Καὶὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνιγματῶδεις, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνίττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς· πολλὰ δὲ λέγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς. — p. 213. This being the nature and genius common to all the barbarous nations upon earth, I am almoſt tempted to believe *Geofry of Monmouth*, when he ſays, that he tranſlated his worthy hiſtory of Britain from the Welch; of which, his original, he gives this character, — *Phaleratа verba & ampulloſæ dictiones.* If this was not ſo, one can hardly tell why he ſhould mention a circumſtance that neither recommended his copy nor his original. But the character of the ballads of the old Welch Bards, fully ſupports Diodorus's account of the ſtyle of the ancient Gauls.

But we need not these far-fetched examples. He who will only reflect on what is so common as generally to escape reflection, may observe, that the common people are always most given to speak in figures. Cicero observed this long ago, where encouraging the use of *metaphors*, even in the simpler style, he says, — Translatione fortasse crebrior, qua frequentissime sermo omnis utitur non modo urbanorum, sed etiam *rusticorum*. Siquidem est eorum, *gemmare vites, sitire agros, laetas esse segetes, luxuriosa frumenta*. Nihil horum parum audacter, sed aut simile est illi, unde transferas: aut, si res suum nullum habet nomen, *docendi causa sumptum, aut ludendi videtur*[1]. Hence too, the peoples delight in that other figure of speech, Proverbs, a passion not stronger in our own times than in those of Aristotle; who observes οἱ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΙ μάλιστα ΓΝΩΜΟΤΥΠΟΙ εἰσι. And the gross images under which proverbial truths in all languages are conveyed, shew they only delighted in their own inventions: for, to the People, it is certain, we are altogether indebted for this species of instruction.

It is true, when gross conception met with a warm imagination which delighted in painting strong and lively images, and was improved by exercise and use, figurative expression would be soon adorned with all the flourishes of wit. For wit consists in using strong *metaphoric images* in uncommon yet apt allusions: just as ancient egyptian wisdom did in *hieroglyphic symbols* fancifully analogized. Plato perhaps had something of this in his thoughts (if he had not, he had hardly any thing so good)

[1] Orator. cap. xxiv.

when

when he obſerved to Alcibiades, that the *People was an excellent maſter of language*[u].

Thus we ſee it has ever been the way of men, both in *Speech* and *Writing*, as well as in Clothes and Habitations, to turn their wants and neceſſities into parade and ornament[x].

IV. In the firſt parallel between *Speech* and *Writing*, we have compared *metaphors* to the *letters of an alphabet*; and how well the parallel runs may be further ſeen from hence; The Egyptians had, as has been ſhewn, two ſorts of alphabetic letters, the one *popular*, the other *ſacerdotal*; ſo had the Ancients in general two ſorts of *metaphors*; one *open* and *intelligible*, another *hidden* and *myſterious*. The prophetic writings are full of this latter ſort. To inſtance only in the famous prediction of Balaam: *There ſhall come a* STAR *out of Jacob, and a ſceptre ſhall riſe out of Iſrael*[y]. This prophecy may poſſibly in ſome ſenſe relate to David; but, without queſtion, it belongs princi-

[u] But the important uſe to which the very learned the Abbé *de Condillac* has employed all that has been here ſaid on this matter, may be ſeen in his excellent *Eſſay on the origin of human Knowledge*. Part II. which treats of *Language*.

[x] Quintilian makes an objector to the *figurative ſtyle* argue thus, — Antiquiſſimum quemque maxime ſecundum naturam dixiſſe contendunt; mox Poetis ſimiliores extitiſſe, etiamſi parciùs, ſimili tamen ratione, falſa & impropria virtutes ducentes. On which he obſerves—qua in diſputatione non nihil veri eſt—It is true, there is *ſomething of truth* in it, and indeed, not much; for tho' the poliſhers of human ſpeech did, as the objector ſays, turn the improprieties of ſpeech into ornament, it is utterly falſe that the moſt ancient ſpeakers uſed only ſimple and proper terms.

[y] NUMB. xxiv. 17.

pally to Jeſus: the metaphor of a *ſceptre* was common and popular, to denote a ruler, like David; but the *ſtar*, tho' it alſo ſignified, in the prophetic writings[z], a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a ſecret and hidden meaning likewiſe: a *ſtar* in the egyptian hieroglyphics denoted GOD[a]: and how much *hieroglyphic writing* influenced the *eaſtern languages* we ſhall ſee preſently. Thus GOD, in the prophet Amos, reproving the Iſraelites for their idolatry on their firſt coming out of Egypt, ſays: "Ye have born the tabernacle of your *Mo-*" *loch*, and *Chiun* your images, THE STAR OF YOUR "GOD, which ye made to yourſelves[b]." *The ſtar of your* GOD is a ſublime figure to ſignify *the image of your* GOD; for a *ſtar* being employed in hieroglyphics to ſignify GOD, it is uſed here with great elegance, to ſignify the material image of a GOD: the words, *the ſtar of your* GOD, being only a repetition, ſo uſual in the Hebrew tongue, of the preceding, *Chiun your images*. Hence we conclude that the metaphor here uſed by Balaam of a *ſtar* was of that abſtruſe myſterious kind; and is ſo to be underſtood; and conſequently that it related only in the myſterious ſenſe, to CHRIST, the eternal ſon of GOD.

We have obſerved how *Symbols*, which came from open *Hieroglyphics*, loſt their myſterious nature, and recovered again their primitive uſe in the flouriſhing ages of Greece and Rome. Juſt ſo again it was with the *Parable*; which coming from

[z] DAN. viii. 10.

[a] Ἀστὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραφόμενον ΘΕΟΝ σημαίνει. *Horapol. Hierog.* lib. ii. cap. i.

[b] Chap. v. ver. 25, 26.

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the ſimple *Apologue*, often returned to its firſt clearneſs and became a proverb plain and intelligible to all. "In that day (ſays the prophet "Micah) ſhall one take up a *Parable* againſt you[c], &c. "Shall not all theſe (ſays Habakkuk) take "up a *Parable* againſt him, and a taunting *pro-* "*verb* againſt him, and ſay[d], &c."

Thus WRITING and LANGUAGE, throughout all their various modes, ran exactly the ſame fortune: invented out of neceſſity, to communicate men's thoughts to one another; they were continued out of choice, for myſtery and ornament; and they ended at laſt as they began, in the way of popular information.

Hitherto we have conſidered the *relation* only as they ſtand in an independent parallel; but as they are only two different ways of communicating the ſame conceptions, they muſt needs have a mighty influence upon one another. To explain this in the manner it deſerves, would require a juſt volume; and as a properer place may be found for it, when we come to conſider the objections to the *ſtyle of Scripture*; it will be ſufficient juſt to touch upon it at preſent.

1. The influence *Language* would have on the firſt kind of writing, which was *hieroglyphical*, is eaſy to conceive. Language, we have ſhewn, was, out of mere neceſſity, highly figurative, and full of material images: ſo that when men firſt thought of recording their conceptions, the writing would be, of courſe, that very picture which was before painted in the fancy, and from thence, de-

[c] Chap. ii. ver. 4. [d] Chap. ii. ver. 6.

lineated in words: Even long after, when figurative ſpeech was continued out of choice, and adorned with all the invention of wit, as amongſt the Greeks and Romans, and that the genius of the ſimpler *hieroglyphic*-writing was again revived for ornament, in EMBLEMS and DEVICES, the poetic habit of perſonalizing every thing, filled their coins, their arches, their altars, &c. with all kinds of imaginary Beings. All the qualities of the mind, all the affections of the body, all the properties of countries, cities, rivers, mountains, became the ſeeds of living things: for,

——" as IMAGINATION bodied forth
" The forms of things unknown, the *artiſt's hand*
" Turn'd them to ſhape, and gave to airy nothing
" A local habitation and a name[e]."

2. The reciprocal influence *hieroglyphic writing* would have on *language* is as evident. The Chineſe, we have ſeen, uſed this kind of writing, as well as the Egyptians; and the character given of their language is entirely correſpondent: " The " ſtyle of the *Chineſe*, in their compoſitions, (ſays Du Halde,) " is MYSTERIOUS, *conciſe*, ALLEGO-" RIC, and ſometimes *obſcure*. They *ſay much* " *in few words*. Their expreſſions are lively, ani-" mated, and thick ſown with *bold compariſons*, " and *noble metaphors*[f]." Their ſtyle, we ſee, was *conciſe* and *figurative*; the very character, as

[e] *Shakeſpear.*

[f] Le Stile des Chinois dans leurs compoſitions eſt *myſterieux*, concis, *allegorique*, & quelquefois obſcur. Ils diſent beaucoup de choſes en peu de paroles. Leurs expreſſions ſont vives, animées & ſemées de comparaiſons hardies & de metaphores nobles. *Deſcr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 227. *Paris*, 1735.

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we have ſeen, of all the barbarous nations upon earth, both ancient and modern; for Nature is ever uniform. The cold phlegmatic temper of the Chineſe made their ſtyle ſhort and *laconic*; the uſe of hieroglyphics made it *figurative*; and from this mixture it became *obſcure:* but had thoſe remote inhabitants of the Eaſt and Weſt poſſeſſed the warm imagination of the proper Aſiatics, then had their language, like that of the people ſpoken of above, abounded with *pleonaſms* inſtead of *laconiſms.* The old Aſiatic ſtyle, ſo highly figurative, ſeems likewiſe, by what we find of its remains, in the prophetic language of the ſacred writers, to have been evidently faſhioned to the mode of ancient Hieroglyphics, both *curiologic* and *tropical.* Of the firſt kind are the figurative expreſſions of *ſpotted garments* to denote iniquity; an *intoxicating draught*, to ſignify error and miſery; the *ſword and bow*, a warrior; a *gigantic ſtature*, a mighty leader; *balance*, *weights and meaſures*, a judge or magiſtrate; *arms*, a powerful nation, like the Roman. Of the ſecond kind, which anſwers to the *tropical* hieroglyphic, is the calling empires, kings and nobles, by the names of the *heavenly luminaries*, the *ſun*, *moon*, *and ſtars*; their temporary diſaſters or entire overthrow, denoted by *eclipſes and extinctions*; the deſtruction of the Nobility, by *ſtars falling from the firmament*; hoſtile invaſions, by *thunder and tempeſtuous winds*; and leaders of armies, conquerors, and founders of empire, by *lions*, *bears*, *leopards*, *goats*, *or high trees.* In a word, the prophetic ſtyle ſeems to be a SPEAKING HIEROGLYPHIC.

Theſe obſervations will not only aſſiſt us in the intelligence of the Old and New Teſtament, but likewiſe vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern libertines, who have fool-

iſhly miſtaken that colouring for the peculiar workmanſhip of the ſpeaker's heated imagination, which was the ſober eſtabliſhed language of their times; a language which God and his Son condeſcended to employ, as the propereſt vehicle of the high myſterious ways of Providence, in the revelation of themſelves to mankind.

But to come to a concluſion. We muſt obſerve in the laſt place, that beſides the many changes which the ancient Egyptian *hieroglyphics* underwent, they at length ſuffered a very perverſe corruption. It hath been already ſeen, how the MYSTERIES, that other grand vehicle of *egyptian wiſdom*, degenerated into *magic*: juſt ſo it happened with the HIEROGLYPHICS; for their characters being become, in a proper ſenſe, ſacred (as will be explain'd hereafter) it diſpoſed the more ſuperſtitious to engrave them upon Gems, and wear them as amulets or charms. But this abuſe ſeems not to have been much earlier than the eſtabliſhed worſhip of the God Serapis: which happened under the Ptolemys; and was firſt brought to the general knowledge of the world by certain chriſtian heretics[5], and natives of Egypt, who had mingled a number of pagan ſuperſtitions with their chriſtianity. Theſe gems, called ABRAXAS, frequently to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, are engraven with all kinds of hieroglyphic characters. For this abuſive original, we have the teſtimony of Rufinus the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, contemporary with St. Jerome: *Who can reckon up*, ſays he, *the horrid ſuperſtitions practiſed at Canopus? where under pre-*

[5] So I thought: and ſo it has been generally thought. But M. de Beauſobre in his *Hiſtoire de Manichee*, lib. iv. c. 4. has made it probable, that the heretics had no hand in theſe *Abraxa*, but that they are altogether pagan.

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tence of interpreting the SACERDOTAL LETTERS, *for ſo they call the ancient egyptian characters, a public ſchool may be almoſt ſaid to be opened for the teaching magical arts* [h]. Hence theſe characters came to be called *chaldaic*, the Chaldeans being particularly addicted to magic. So Caſſiodorus, ſpeaking of the obeliſks in the roman circus, which were brought from Egypt, calls the inſcriptions on them *chaldaica ſigna* [i]: To the *Abraxas* afterwards ſucceeded TALISMANS [k]: which (mixed, like the other, with the dotages of judicial aſtrology) are held in high reverence to this day, in all mahometan countries. And here let me obſerve, that from the low date of theſe kinds of charms may be ſeen the impertinence of what Sir John Marſham brings from late greek and roman writers, to confront and diſcredit the myſterious elevation of the brazen ſerpent in the wilderneſs [l].

[h] — *Canopi quis enumeret ſuperſtitioſa flagitia? Ubi prætextu* SACERDOTALIUM LITERARUM, *ita enim appellant* antiquas Ægyptiorum literas, *Magicæ artis erat pene publica ſchola. Eccleſ. hiſt.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

[i] *Ubi ſacra priſcorum Chaldaicis ſignis, queſi literis, indicantur.* lib. iii. ep. 51. & lib. iii. ep. 2.

[k] This charm, which the Arabs called *Taliſman* or *Tſalimam*, the later Greeks, when they had borrowed the ſuperſtition, called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ; which ſhews of what houſe they ſuppoſed it to have come; στοιχεῖα being, as we have obſerved, the technical greek name for *hieroglyphic* characters.

[l] The ſame error has made the half-paganized Marſilius Ficinus fall into the idle conceit, that the *Golden Calf* was only a *Taliſman*: — Hebræi quoque (ſays he) in Ægypto nutriti, ſtruere vitulum aureum didicerant, ut eorundem aſtrologi putant, ad aucupandum veneris lunæque favorem, contra Scorpionis atque Martis influxum Judæis infeſtum. *De Vita Cœlit. Com.* l. iii. c. 13.

But what muſt we think of Kircher, who hath miſtaken theſe ſuperſtitions for the ancient Egyptian wiſdom; and ſetting up with this magic, and that other of the *myſteries*, which the later Platoniſts and Pythagoreans had jumbled together, in the production of their fanatic-philoſophy, ſoon ingroſſed, in imagination, all the treaſures of Antiquity[m]? However, to be juſt, it muſt be owned that he was miſled by the Ancients themſelves. Some of whom imagined that the very firſt *hieroglyphics* were tainted with this magical pollution, juſt as ſome Moderns would have the firſt *Myſteries* to be corrupted by debauched practices. So Lucan, ſpeaking of the times before alphabetic writing, ſays,

" Nondùm flumineas Memphis contexere Biblos
" Noverat, et *ſaxis* tantum, *volucreſque* feræque
" Sculptaque ſervabant MAGICAS animalia
" LINGUAS."

[m] The following are three of his ſix *Poſtulata* on which he founds his whole interpretation of the Egyptian *hieroglyphics*:—

1. *Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud eſt quam arcana de Deo, diviniſque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæteriſque mundanarum poteſtatum claſſibus ordinibuſque ſcientia, ſaxis potiſſimùm inſculpta.*

5. *Hieroglyphica Symbola non tantùm ſublimium erant ſignificativa ſacramentorum; ſed & naturalem quandam efficacentiam habere credebantur, tum ad Genios bonos quibuſcum occultam, & in abdita naturæ abyſſo latentem ſympathiam habere putabantur, attrahendos; tum ad contrarios & antitechnos Genios, ob eorundem cum iis antipathiam, coërcendos profligandoſque.*

6. *Hieroglyphica Symbola nihil aliud quàm prophylactica quædam ſigna, omnium malorum averruncativa, ob mirificum catenarum mundialium conſociatum connexionemque, eſſe exiſtimabantur.*

Oedip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 4.

Here,

Here, we ſee, the *abuſe* and the *invention* are made coeval. An extravagant error, which the leaſt attention to the hiſtory of the human mind and the progreſs of its operations might have prevented.

To conclude, I have here preſumed to diſpute an unqueſtioned propoſition, *That the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics for the ſake of ſecrecy.* It will be well if the evidence of the reaſoning may excuſe the ſingularity of the paradox. This is certain, the ſubject hath long remained in obſcurity; and as certain, that I have, ſome how or other, been able to throw a little ſcattered light into the darkeſt corners of it. Whether the common opinion occaſioned the obſcurity, and the notion here advanced has contributed to remove it, is left for the candid reader to determine [n].

III. And

[n] This Diſcourſe on the EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS hath had the ſame fortune abroad, that the Diſcourſe on the BOOK OF JOB hath had at home: Like this, it hath been the occaſion of much waſte of paper, and violation of common ſenſe. For the Diſcourſe on the Hieroglyphics having been well tranſlated and well received in France, both the *ſubject* and the *author* became known enough to invite all *gentlemen ſcholars*, better able to entertain the Public, to oblige us with their ingenious conjectures; and many a French pen, even to that of a captain of grenadiers, hath been drawn, to ſhew that the nature of Hieroglyphics is yet as unknown as ever. A nameleſs diſſertator, *ſur l'Ecriture Hieroglyphique*, (who chuſes to write, as he himſelf very truly ſays, in his title page,—*ſub luce moligna*) aſſures us, that Hieroglyphics were not a ſpecies of writing to convey intelligence to the reader, but a mere ornament upon ſtone, to entertain the eye of the ſpectator: So there is an end of the SUBJECT. The learned captain, who wheels in a larger circle, and takes in all the wiſdom of Egypt, laments with much humanity, the ſuperficiality and ignorance of all who have gone before him, and their utter incapacity of getting to the ſource of things: So there is an end of the AUTHOR. Indeed, the Journaliſt who recommends this important work to the public, ſeems to have his doubts as to this point.—N' eſt ce pas s' avancer un peu trop (ſays

III.

And now to apply this matter to the proof of our Propoſition; for this long diſcourſe on *Hieroglyphic writing* is particularly given to deduce from its nature, origin, and uſe, an internal argument for the high antiquity of *Egyptian learning*.

Let us ſee then how the evidence ſtands: The true Egyptian learning, which the early Greek Sages brought from thence to adorn their own country, was, by the concurrent teſtimony of theſe

(ſays he) et peut-on dire que MARSHAM pour la Chronologie & l'Hiſtoire, M. WARBURTON pour les Hieroglyphes, & d' autres ſçavans ayent negligé de conſulter les ſources?

To ſay the truth, theſe wonderful inveſtigators of the learning of ancient Egypt, by the mere dint of modern ingenuity, had *provocation* enough to fall upon this unluckly Diſcourſe, which no ſooner appeared amongſt them in the fine tranſlation of a very learned french lawyer, than the celebrated writers of the *Journal des Sçavans*, of March, 1744. and of *Trevoux* of July, in the ſame year, announced it to the public in theſe terms. "Il "regne (ſays the firſt) une ſi belle analogie dans le ſyſteme de "Mr. Warburton, et toutes ſes parties tiennent les unes aux "autres par un lien ſi naturel, qu'on eſt porté à croire que l'ori- "gine, & les progreſs de l'ecriture & du language ont été tels "qu' il les a decrits. Le public doit avoir bien de l' obliga- "tion au Traducteur de lui avoir fait connoitre un Ouvrage ſi "curieux." —— "M. Warburton (ſays the other) n' a pu ſans "une erudition profonde, une lecture murement digerée et des "reflexions infinies traiter avec tant de preciſion, de juſteſſe et "de netteté, un ſujet de lui même ſi difficile à mettre en "oeuvre. Les plus ſavans hommes ſe ſont laiſſé ſeduire ſur l' "origine des Hieroglyphes; et la plupart ont regardé un effet "du peu d' experience des Egyptiens comme un refinement "de la plus myſterieuſe ſageſſe. C'eſt cette erreur que M. "Warburton s' applique particulierement a detruire dans la "premiere partie. Il le fait de la maniere la plus naturelle. "Ce n' eſt point un ſyſteme fondé SUR DES IMAGINATIONS "VAGUES ſes raiſonnemens, ſes preuves ſont appuiées ſur "des FAITS, ſur la NATURE des choſes, & ſur LES PRINCIPES "LES PLUS LUMINEUX DU SENS COMMUN.

writers,

writers, all contained in *Hieroglyphics.* They record a ſimple fact; and, in a fact of this nature, they could not be deceived; tho' in the cauſes of it they well might; and as we have ſhewn, indeed were. But hieroglyphic-writing thus invented, was improved into a contrivance to record their ſecret wiſdom, long before an *Alphabet* was found out; and yet an alphabet was of ſo high and almoſt immemorial antiquity as to paſs for an invention of the Gods; and conſequently to deceive ſome men into an opinion that *Letters* were prior in time to *Hieroglyphics.* °.

To this it may be objected, "That, as I pretend *Hieroglyphics* were not invented for ſecrecy, but afterwards turned to that uſe, and even employed in it, long after the invention of alphabetic letters, it might very well be, that this profound learning, which all agree to have been recorded in *Hieroglyphics*, was the product of ages much below the antiquity enquired after."

Now, not to inſiſt upon the Grecian teſtimony, which make the *learned hieroglyphics* coeval with the firſt race of kings; I reply, and might well reſt the matter on this ſingle argument,—That if

° Amongſt the reſt, the author of *Sacred and Profane Hiſtory connected*; who ſays: "We have no reaſon to think that theſe "hieroglyphics [namely, what we call the *curiologic*,] were ſo "ancient as the firſt letters:" This is his firſt anſwer to the opinion that hieroglyphics were more ancient. His ſecond is in theſe words: "They would have been a very imperfect cha-"racter; many, nay moſt occurrences, would be repreſented "by them but by halves," vol. ii. p. 295. Now this to me appears a very good argument why *hieroglyphics* were indeed the *firſt* rude effort towards recording the human conceptions; and ſtill, a better, why they could not be the *ſecond*, when men had already found out the more compleat method of alphabetic letters.

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at the invention of *letters*, much high-prized learning had not been contained in *Hieroglyphics*, but only plain memorials of civil matters, no plauſible reaſon can be given why the Egyptians did not then diſcontinue a way of writing ſo troubleſome and imperfect. It hath been ſhewn, that in the very early ages of the world, all nations, as well as the Egyptian, uſed to record the ſucceſſion of time and revolutions of State, in *hieroglyphic* characters: but, of theſe, none, beſides the Egyptians, continued to write by marks for things, after the invention of *letters*. All others immediately dropt their hieroglyphics on the diſcovery of that more commodious method. The reaſon of which is plain; all others were totally unlearned in thoſe periods of their exiſtence preceding the knowledge of letters; conſequently, as their hieroglyphics were employed in nothing but to record the rude annals of their hiſtory, they had no inducement to continue them: but at this remarkable æra, Egypt was very learned; and hieroglyphics being the repoſitories of its learning, theſe monuments would be in high veneration; and that veneration would perpetuate their uſe. There is but one example perhaps in the world, beſides the Egyptian, where a people's *learning* was *firſt* recorded in *hieroglyphic* characters; and this one example will ſupport our argument: the people I mean are the Chinese; who, as the Miſſionaries aſſure us, bear ſuch eſteem and reverence for their *ancient character*, that, when they find it curiouſly written, they prefer it to the moſt elegant painting, and purchaſe the leaſt ſcrap at an exceſſive price: they will not (we are told) apply the paper even of any common book, on which theſe characters are written, to a profane or vulgar uſe: and their joiners and maſons do not dare to tear a printed leaf which they find paſted

paſted to the wall or wainſcot [p]. Now if at length, theſe people ſhould be prevailed on to uſe the more excellent way of writing with the letters of an alphabet, can any one doubt but that their Mandarins would ſtill continue theſe venerable hieroglyphic characters in their works of Science and Religion? Thus, what we ſee would be the caſe here, was without all queſtion the caſe of the Egyptians; Characters become the vehicle of ſuch treaſures of learning muſt be in the higheſt reverence: and indeed, the name of *Hieroglyphics*, under which they were delivered to the Greeks, ſhews they were in fact thus reverenced [q]. But that *learning*

[p] Ils preferent même un beau caractere à la plus admirable peinture, & l'on en voit ſouvent qui achetent bien cher une page de vieux caracteres, quand ils ſont bien formez. Ils honorent leurs caracteres juſques dans les livres les plus ordinaires, & ſi par haſard quelques feüilles etoient tombées, ils les ramaſſent avec reſpect: ce ſeroit, ſelon eux, un groſſierité & une impoliteſſe, d'en faire un uſage profane, de les fouler aux pieds en marchant, de les jetter même avec indifference; ſouvent il arrive que les menuiſiers & les maçons n'oſent pas dechire une feüille imprimée, qui ſe trouve collée ſur le mur, ou ſur le bois. Ils craignent de faire une faute. *Du Halde Deſcr. de l' Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 228.

[q] See p. 78, 79, of this volume. What hath been ſaid above of the reaſon why *Egypt* alone continued their *hieroglyphic* characters after the invention of *letters*, and why all other nations thenceforward left them off, will give an eaſy ſolution to what a curious traveller ſeems to think matter of ſome wonder, namely, that "the ſymbolic learning was the only part of "Egyptian wiſdom not tranſlated into Greece." [Dr. *Shaw's Travels*, p. 391.]—But if this learned man meant not *hieroglyphic characters*, but only the *mode* of Egyptian wiſdom employed therein, he raiſes a wonder out of his own miſtake: that mode was *tranſlated into Greece* with the reſt; for the precepts of Pythagoras were a fantaſtic kind of *tranſlation* of hieroglyphic pictures into verbal propoſitions; and on that account, doubtleſs, called SYMBOLS: — Μάλιστα (ſays Plutarch) δὲ ὑπὸ [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ὡς ἔοικε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὰς ἀνδρας, ἀπεμιμήσαλο τὸ

τὸ

learning which was contained in hieroglyphics, and was, of itſelf, ſufficient to perpetuate their uſe, gave birth to a tradition which would effectually ſecure it; and this was, that *the* GODS *themſelves invented hieroglyphic writing.*

On the whole, The argument drawn from their CONTINUED USE ſeems ſo ſure a proof of the high antiquity of Egyptian learning in general, that one might ſafely reſt the whole upon it: But to remove all cavil, I ſhall proceed to other, and, as I think, inconteſtable proofs of the antiquity of that *learning*, and particularly the *theologic*: the one taken from the true original of the art of ONIRO-CRITIC, or *interpretation of dreams*; and the other from the true original of ANIMAL WORSHIP: both of theſe fantaſtic ſuperſtitions being the genuine and peculiar growth of EGYPT.

I. The art of ONIROCRITIC, from whoſe *original* I deduce my firſt proof, made a very conſiderable part of ancient pagan religion. Artemidorus, who lived about the beginning of the ſecond century, and wrote a treatiſe on *Dreams*, collected from much earlier writers, divides *dreams* into two kinds, the *ſpeculative* and the *allegorical*[1]; the firſt kind is that which preſents a plain and direct pic-

τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριῶδες, ἀναμίξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγματα· τῶν γὰρ καλουμένων γραμμάτων ἱερογλυφικῶν οὐθὲν ἀπολείπει πὰ πολλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ Μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐπὶ δίφρου μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικος καθῆσθαι, μηδὲ φοίνικα φυτεύειν, μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαίρῃ σκαλεύειν ἐν οἰκίᾳ. *De Iſ. & Oſ.* p. 632. Ἀυτίκα τῆς βαρβάρου (ſays Clemens Alex.) φιλοσοφίας, πάνυ σφόδρα ἐπικεκρυμμένης ἤρτηται τὰ Πυθαγόρια ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ. παραίνει γοῦν ὁ Σάμιος χελιδόνα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὴ ἔχειν, τοῦτέστι, λάλον καὶ ψίθυρον καὶ πρόγλωσσον ἄνθρωπον, &c. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 558.

[1] Ἔτι τῶν ὀνείρων, οἱ μὲν, εἰσὶ θεωρηματικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀλληγορικοί. καὶ θεωρηματικοὶ μὲν, οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν θέα προσεοικότες — Ἀλληγορικοὶ δὲ, οἱ δι' ἄλλων ἄλλα σημαίνοντες.—*Artemid. Oneir.* lib. i. cap. 2.

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ture of the matter about which the Dream gives information; the ſecond is an oblique intimation of it, by a tropical or ſymbolic image: This latter which makes up the large farrago of dreams, is the only kind that needs an Interpreter; on which account Macrobius defines a *Dream* to be the notice of ſomething *hid in allegory which wants to be explained*[s].

So that the queſtion will be, on what grounds or rules of interpretation the Onirocritics proceeded, when, if a man dreamt of a dragon, the Interpreter aſſured him it ſignified *majeſty*; if of a ſerpent, a *diſeaſe*; a viper, *money*; frogs, *impoſtors*; pigeons and ſtock-doves, *women*; partridges, *impious perſons*; a ſwallow, *ſorrow*, *death*, and *diſaſter*; cats, *adultery*; the ichneumon, *deceitful and miſchievous men*, *&c*[t]. for the whole art of ancient *onirocritic* was concerned in theſe remote and myſterious relations. Now the early *Interpreters of dreams* were not juggling impoſtors; but like the early judicial *Aſtrologers*, more ſuperſtitious than their neighbours; and ſo the firſt who fell into their own deluſions. However, ſuppoſe them to have been as arrant cheats as any of their ſucceſſors, yet at their firſt ſetting up, they muſt have had materials proper for their trade; which could never be the wild workings of each man's private fancy. Their Cuſtomers would look to find a known analogy, become venerable by long application to myſterious wiſdom, for the ground work of their deciphering; and the Decipherers them-

[s] Somnium proprie vocatur, quod tegit figuris & velut ambagibus, non niſi interpretatione intelligendam, ſignificationem rei quæ demonſtratur. — *In Somn. Scip.* lib. i. cap. 3.

[t] Vid. Artemid.

ſelves would as naturally fly to ſome confeſſed authority, to ſupport their pretended Science. But what ground or authority could this be, if not the myſterious learning of *ſymbolic characters?* Here we ſeem to have got a ſolution of the difficulty. The *Egyptian prieſts*, the firſt interpreters of dreams, took their rules for this ſpecies of DIVINATION, from their *ſymbolic* riddling, in which they were ſo deeply read: A ground of interpretation which would give the ſtrongeſt credit to the Art; and equally ſatisfy the Diviner and the Conſulter: for by this time it was generally believed that their Gods had given them *hieroglyphic writing*. So that nothing was more natural than to imagine that theſe Gods, who in their opinon gave *dreams* likewiſe, had employed the ſame mode of expreſſion in both revelations. This, I ſuppoſe, was the true original [u] of *onirocritic*, or the interpretation

[u] The reader may now ſee how inconſiderately the learned W. Baxter pronounced upon the matter when he ſaid, "The "ἱερὰ γράμματα of the *Egyptians* were *notæ ſacræ* borrowed "from the Onirocritics, and therefore divine." [*App.* to his *Gloſſ. Antiq. Rom.* pag. 414.] Nor does the more judicious Mr. Daubuz conclude leſs erroneouſly, when he ſuppoſes that both *onirocritic* and *hieroglyphics* ſtood upon one common foundation. But he was miſled by Kircher, and certain late Greek writers, who pretended that the *ancient Egyptians* had I can't tell what notion of a cloſe union between viſible bodies in heaven, the inviſible deities, and this inferior world, by ſuch a concatenation from the higheſt to the loweſt, that the affections of the higher link reached the lower throughout the whole chain; for that the intellectual world is ſo exact a copy and idea of the viſible, that nothing is done in the viſible, but what is decreed before and exemplified in the intellectual. [*Prelim. diſcourſe to his Comm. on the* REVELATIONS] This was the ſenſeleſs jargon of Jamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and the reſt of that fanatic tribe of Pythagorean-Platoniſts; and this they obtruded on the world for old Egyptian wiſdom; the vanity of which pretence has been confuted in the firſt volume. It is hard to ſay whether theſe Enthuſiaſts believed

tation of thoſe dreams called allegorical; that is, of dreams in general; for the wildneſs of an unbridled fancy will make almoſt all natural dreams to be of that kind. It is true, the Art being now well eſtabliſhed, every age adorned it with additional ſuperſtitions; ſo that at length the old foundation became quite loſt in theſe new incruſtations.

If this account of its original ſtood in need of farther evidence, I might urge the rules of interpretation here given from Artemidorus, and a great many more which might have been given; all of them conformable to the *ſymbolic hieroglyphics* in Horapollo.

Herodotus, in Clio, tells us, how Cyrus, dreaming that young Darius had WINGS on his ſhoulders, which, when ſpread out, ſhaded Aſia and Europe, underſtood this dream by the aſſiſtance of his Interpreters, to ſignify (as we muſt needs conclude) a conſpiracy formed againſt him by that young man. Now Sanchoniatho tells us [x] that in the moſt ancient *hieroglyphic writing*, a ſupreme governor was deſigned by a man with four WINGS, and his lieutenants or princes under him by a man with two: and that their being *out-ſtretched* ſignified action or deſign [y].

But

believed themſelves, there is ſuch an equal mixture of folly and knavery in all their writings: however, it is certain, Kircher believed them.

[x] See p. 79.

[y] But hieroglyphic writing as we have obſerved, not only furniſhed rules of interpretation for their Onirocritics, but figures of ſpeech for their Orators. So Iſaiah expreſſeth the king of Aſſyria's invaſion of Judea by the *ſtretching out of his* WINGS, *to*

But there is one remarkable circumſtance which puts the matter out of all doubt. The technical term uſed by the Onirocritics for the phantaſms ſeen in dreams, was ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ [z], *elements*. It would be hard to give a good account of the uſe of ſo odd a term on any other ſuppoſition than the derivation of onirocritic from ſymbolic writing. On that ſuppoſition it is eaſy and evident; for ſymbolic marks [a] were called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Now when they uſed ſymbols to decipher dreams, nothing was more natural than to give the ſame ſignificative images, on the ſtone and in the fancy, the ſame appellation.

The reaſon why the Egyptian prieſts (who, we have ſeen, uſed the greek tongue very early) call-

fill the breadth of the land *: And afterwards, propheſying againſt Egypt and Ethiopia, he ſays, *Wo to the land ſhadowing with* WINGS †. Moſt of the interpreters, indeed, explain wings to ſignify the ſails of their veſſels on the Nile: but the expreſſion evidently means in general, the over-ſhadowing with a mighty power; of which *wings* in hieroglyphic language were the emblem.

[z] Thus Suidas on the word — ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ· αἱ εἰκόνες καὶ διαπλάσεις τῶν ὀνείρων αἱ δι' ὀλίγου ἢ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἔκβασιν ἔχουσαι. Artemidorus tells us this was the *technical word* for the phantaſms in dreams: Ὄνειρός ἐστι, κίνησις ἢ πλάσις ψυχῆς πολυσχήμων· σημαντικὴ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν· τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος, ὅσα μὲν ἀποβήσεται μεταξὺ χρόνου διελθόντος, ἢ πολλοῦ, ἢ ὀλίγου, ταῦτα πάντα δι' εἰκόνων ἰδίων φυσικῶν τῶν καὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ καλουμένων, προαγορεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον νομίζουσα ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι λοτισμῷ διδασκομένους τὰ ἐσόμενα μαθεῖν. *Oneir.* lib. i. cap. 2. And in his fourth book he begins a chapter which he entitles Περὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ in this manner: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφθόνως εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντας, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἁρμόσει, ὅπως ἔχῃς ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῇς ὑπὸ τῶν πλείονα λεγόντων εἶναι. cap. 3.

[a] See p. 78.

* C. viii. v. 8. † C. xviii. 1.

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ed their hieroglyphic and ſymbolic marks Στοιχεῖα, was becauſe, in this way of writing, they employed all kinds of natural entities, to denote their mental conceptions; the proper ſignification of Στοιχεῖα being the firſt elements and principles of things, out of which all beings ariſe, and, of which, they are compounded[b]. Hence it came that *alphabetic* letters which were an improvement on *hieroglyphics* and received their firſt ſhapes from hieroglyphic images, were called Στοιχεῖα.

So much for the *original* of onirocritic. To bring it to the point, we are next to conſider its *antiquity*. Now Scripture leads us to the practice of this art as high up as the age of Joſeph.

Pharaoh had two dreams[c]; one of *ſeven kine*, the other of *ſeven ears of corn*. We ſee both theſe phantaſms [Στοιχεῖα] were *ſymbols* of Egypt: The *ears* denoting its diſtinguiſhed fertility; the *kine*, its great tutelary patroneſs, Iſis. Pharaoh knew thus much without an Interpreter; and hence aroſe

[b] But the learned Daubuz, in conſequence of his truſting to the fanatic notion of the late Greek philoſophers, ſuppoſes that hieroglyphic marks were called Στοιχεῖα, becauſe the firſt compoſers of them *uſed the heavenly bodies to repreſent the notions of their minds, there being, according to them, a myſtic ſympathetic union and analogy between heavenly and earthly things*; conſequently that Στοιχεῖα, in this uſe, ſignifies the *hoſt of heaven*: That it may do ſo, according to the genius of the Greek tongue, he endeavours to prove by its coming from στίχω, which is a military term, and ſignifies to *march in order*. [p. 10. of the *Prel. Diſc.*] But this learned man ſhould on this occaſion have remembered his own quotation from the excellent Quintilian, p. 54. *that analogy is not founded upon reaſon, but example. Non ratione nititur analogia, ſed exemplo; nec lex eſt loquendi, ſed obſervatio: ut ipſam analogiam nulla res alia fecerit, quam conſuetudo.* Inſt. lib. i. cap. 10.

[c] GEN. xli.

his ſolicitude and anxiety to underſtand the reſt, as a matter that concerned the Public: Accordingly, when Joſeph[d] comes to decipher theſe dreams, he does not tell the king that the two *ſevens* denoted *ſeven years in Egypt*, but ſimply *ſeven years*: The ſcene of the famine needed no deciphering. Unlike, in this, to the interpretation of Daniel, when Nebuchadnezzar ſaw in a dream *a fair and high tree*; which being the ſymbol of majeſty in general, the prophet explains its particular meaning, "The tree that thou ſaweſt—it is THOU, O "king[e]."

The argument therefore ſtands thus: the *Oniro-critics* borrowed their art of deciphering from ſymbolic hieroglyphics.—But this could not be 'till hieroglyphics were become ſacred, by being made the cloudy vehicle of their Theology; becauſe, 'till then, hieroglyphics had neither authority enough

[d] Here perhaps I ſhall be told, with the candour I have commonly experienced, that I have applied the hiſtory of Pharaoh's *dream* in illuſtrating the old pagan method of onirocritic for no other purpoſe than to diſcredit Joſeph's prophetic interpretation of it: Therefore, though this matter be explained afterwards at large, I muſt here inform the reader, of what every one will be content to know, except ſuch as theſe, who never think, but to ſuſpect, and never ſuſpect, but to accuſe, that when GOD pleaſes to deal with men by his miniſters, he generally condeſcends to treat them according to their infirmities; a method which hath all the Marks of higheſt wiſdom as well as goodneſs. Phantaſms in dreams were ſuperſtitiouſly thought to be *ſymbolical:* GOD, therefore, when it was his good pleaſure to ſend dreams to Pharaoh, made the foundation of them too well known ſymbols; and this, doubtleſs, in order to engage the dreamer's more ſerious attention: But then to confound the *Egyptian Onirocritics*, theſe dreams were ſo circumſtanced with matters foreign to the principles of their art, that there was need of a truly divine Interpreter to decipher them.

[e] DAN. iv. 20, 21.

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to ſupport the credit of thoſe interpretations, nor a perplexity ſufficiently copious to ſupport the myſtery of this application.—But by the time hieroglyphics were become ſacred, Egypt was very learned.—Now they were ſacred in the days of Joſeph, as appears from the uſe of interpreting dreams according to thoſe Symbols.—Therefore *learned Egypt of very high antiquity.*

II. My ſecond argument for this antiquity is deduced from the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP; and ſtands thus: We have obſerved, that in thoſe improved hieroglyphics, called *Symbols* (in which, it is confeſſed, the ancient Egyptian learning was contained) the leſs obvious properties of animals occaſioned their becoming marks, by analogical adaption, for very different ideas, whether of ſubſtances or modes; which plainly intimates that phyſical knowledge had been long cultivated. Now theſe ſymbols I hold to be the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP in Egypt. But animal worſhip was the *eſtabliſhed worſhip* in the time of MOSES, as is evident from the book of *Exodus:* Therefore the Egyptian learning was of this high antiquity [f]. The only propoſition, in

[f] But if you will believe a late writer, *Animal-worſhip* was ſo far from coming from *Hieroglyphics*, that Hieroglyphics came out of Animal-worſhip. This is an unexpected change of the ſcene; but, for our comfort, 'tis only the forced conſequence of a falſe hypotheſis, which will be well conſidered in its place: "The *hieroglyphical* inſcriptions of the Egyptians (ſays he) are "pretty full of the figures of birds, fiſhes, beaſts, and men, "with a few letters ſometimes between them; and this alone is "ſufficient to *hint* to us, that they could not come into uſe be-"fore the animals, repreſented in inſcriptions of this ſort, "were become by allegory and mythology capable of expreſſing "various things by their having been variouſly uſed in the "ceremonies of their religion." *Connect. of the Sacred and*

in this argument, that needs any proof, is the firſt. The reaſons therefore which induce me to think *ſymbolic writing* to be the ſole origin of *Animal-worſhip* are theſe:

1. This kind of idolatry was peculiar to the *Egyptian* ſuperſtition; and almoſt unknown to all the Caſts of paganiſm, but ſuch as were evidently copied from that original[g]: MOSES treats it as their diſtinguiſhing ſuperſtition[h]: The Greeks and Romans, though at a loſs for its original, yet ſpeak of it as the peculiar extravagance of *Egypt:* And the moſt intelligent of the moderns conſider it in the very ſame light[i].

2. The *Egyptians* not only worſhiped *Animals*, but PLANTS; and, in a word, every kind of being that had qualities remarkably ſingular or efficaci-

Profane Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 294. But if this were the caſe, How came theſe animals to be *ſo capable* of expreſſing by *allegory* and *mythology?* or in other words, How came they to be the objects of worſhip? We are yet to ſeek; and it muſt be more than a *hint* that can ſupply us with a reaſon.

[g] Such as the ſeveral gentile nations of Paleſtine and India.

[h] DEUT. iv. ver. 14, to 21.

[i] The learned *Fourmont* thus expreſſes himſelf: — *Mais pour parler ſimplement & ſans fard, il faudra bon gré malgré en revenir à ceci, qui les Egyptiens etoient, &, s'ils penſoient un peu, devoient ſe croire eux mêmes un peuple fort extravagant; on n'apotheoſe point ſans folie les Oignons & les Aſperges: que penſez encore des Dieux Oiſeaux, Poiſſons, Serpens, Crocodiles? mais non-ſeulement ils avoient deifié les animaux; ce qui eſt plus etrange encore, infatuez de la Metempſycoſe, ils s'etoient enthouſiaſmez la deſſus de Myſtagogies incomprehenſibles. Leurs pretres, par un zele qu'on ne connoit pas trop, s'etoient rendus les Predicateurs de ces mêmes folies; & ils en avoient dans leurs conquêtes, ou par des miſſions,* infecté toute l'Inde, toute la Chine, tout le Japon. *Reflex. Crit. ſur les Hiſt. des Anc. Peuples*, tom. i. p. 227.

qus;

ous; because all these had found their place in symbolic writing: For, as hath been shewn when Hieroglyphics came to be employed for mystery, no sooner was one Symbol grown common and vulgar, than another was invented of a more recondite meaning: so that the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms would be all explored to paint the histories of their Gods.

3. Besides the adoration of almost every thing existing, the *Egyptians* worshiped a thousand Chimeras of their own creation: Some with human bodies, and the head or feet of brutes; others with brutal bodies, and the heads or feet of men; while others again were a fantastic compound of the several parts of beasts, birds, and reptiles, terrestrial and aquatic: For besides the simpler method, in hieroglyphic writing, of expressing their hero-gods by an intire plant or animal, there were two others which the more circumstantial history of those deities brought in use. Thus when the subject was only one single quality of a god or hero, the human shape was only partially deformed[k]; as with the head of a dog, hawk, or ram; to denote fidelity, vigilance, or strength; with the feet and thighs of a goat, to represent rusticity, agility, or lust; and this gave Being to their Anubis, Pan, and Jupiter Ammon: But where the subject required a fuller catalogue of the hero's virtues or useful qualities, there they employed an assemblage of the several parts of various animals: each of which, in hieroglyphic writing, was significative of a distinct property: in which assemblage, that ani-

[k] Εἴκασται παρ' αὐτοῖς τις μέχρι τραχήλου ἀνθρωποειδὴς, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ὀρνέου, ἢ λέοντος, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ζώου κεκτημένος· καὶ πάλιν αὖ κεφαλὴ ἀνθρωπείους, καὶ ἄλλων τινων ζώων μέρη πῆ μὲν ὑποκείμενα, πῆ δὲ ἐπικείμενα. *Porph. de Abst.* l. iv.

mal, more peculiarly repreſentative of the God, was moſt conſpicuous. This will explain the verſe of *Anticlides* in his hymn to the ſun,

Ἡέλιος δὲ Νότοιο Ἄναξ ΙΕΡΑΞ ΠΟΛΥΜΟΡΦΕ.

The ſun was generally expreſſed by a *hawk*; but this *ſymbolic hawk*, under various conſiderations, had the various parts of other animals added to it.

4. That animal which was worſhiped in one city was ſacrificed in anot[illegible]. Thus, though at Memphis they adored the ox, at Mendes the goat, and at Thebes the ram; yet, in one place or other, each of theſe animals was uſed in ſacrifice: but bulls and clean calves were offered up in all places. The reaſon of this can only be that at Memphis the ox, was, in hieroglyphic learning, the ſymbol of ſome deity; at Mendes the goat; and at Thebes the ram; but the bull and calf no where: For what elſe can be ſaid for the original of ſo fantaſtical a diverſity in *repreſentative* deities within a kingdom of one national religion?—But farther, the ſame animal was feaſted in one place, with divine honours; in another it was purſued with the direſt execrations. Thus, at Arſinoë, the crocodile was adored; becauſe having no tongue it was made in hieroglyphic writing the ſymbol of the divinity[1]; elſewhere it was had in horror, as being made in

[1] Plutarch, in general, tells us, that the Egyptians thus conſidered the crocodile; but this author, for private ends, delivering a falſe original of Animal-worſhip, it was not to his purpoſe to tell us it was ſo conſidered in *ſymbolic writing*: — οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πιθανῆς ἀμοιρεῦσαν ἔσχηκε τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ οὐ μίμημα θεοῦ λέγεται γεγονέναι, μόνος μὲν ἄγλωσσος ὢν φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεής ἐστι — *De Iſ. & Oſir.*

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the ſame writing the ſymbol of Typhon [m]; that is, it was uſed as a *ſacred character* in the hiſtory both of their *natural* and *civil* Theology.

5. Brute-worſhip was, at *firſt*, altogether objective to their hero-gods; of whom animals were but the repreſentatives. This is ſeen from the rank they hold on ancient monuments; from the unvaried worſhip of ſome few of them, as the *Apis*, which ſtill continued to be adored as the repreſentative of Oſiris:—and from the expreſs teſtimony of Herodotus; who ſays, that, when the Egyptians addreſſed the ſacred Animal, their devotions were paid to that God to whom the beaſt belonged [n].

6. But to make the matter ſtill plainer, it may be obſerved, that the moſt early brute-worſhip in Egypt was not an adoration of the living animal, but only of its picture or image. This truth Herodotus ſeems to hint at in Euterpe, where he ſays, the Egyptians erected the firſt altars, images, and temples to the gods, and carved the FIGURES OF ANIMALS on ſtones [o]. Now, were the original of brute-worſhip any other than what is here ſuppoſed, the living animal muſt have been firſt worſhiped, and the image of it would have been only an attendant ſuperſtition. From the SECOND COMMAND-

[m] The ſubſequent doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis* ſoon made this the foundation of a fable, that the ſoul of *Typhon* had paſſed into a crocodile,—that *Typhon* had aſſumed that figure, *&c.* See *Ælian's Hiſt. of Animals*, lib. x. cap. 21.

[n] Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τὰς δὲ σφι ἀποδιδόασι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον—lib. ii. c. 65.

[o] Βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀποτυμαι σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγλύψαι. c. 4.

MENT,

MENT, and Moſes's exhortation to obedience, it appears that the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus, worſhiped no living animal, but the picture or image only: "Thou ſhalt have no other Gods "before me. Thou ſhalt not make unto thee "any graven image, or any likeneſs of any "thing that is in heaven above or that is in "the earth beneath, or that is in the water under "the earth. Thou ſhalt not bow down thyſelf "to them, nor ſerve them [p]." Thus ſpeaks the law of the firſt table; by which we not only ſee that brute-worſhip was under an image, but that ſuch image was ſymbolical of Gods different from the animal pictured, and alluded to in the words, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before me.* Another thing obſervable in the law is, that not only the making pictures and images for adoration was forbidden, but the ſimple making of them at all. And thus the Jews underſtood it. The conſequence was, that *hieroglyphics* were forbidden: a ſtrong proof of their being the ſource of the idolatry in queſtion. MOSES, in his exhortation to the people, paraphraſes and explains this law: "Take ye, therefore, good heed unto yourſelves (for "ye ſaw *no manner of ſimilitude on the day that the* "*LORD ſpake to you in* Horeb, out of the midſt "of the fire) leſt ye corrupt yourſelves and make "you a graven image, the ſimilitude of any figure, "the likeneſs of *male or female*, the likeneſs of any "beaſt that is on the earth, the likeneſs of any wing-"ed fowl that flieth in the air, the likeneſs of any "thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeneſs of "any fiſh that is in the waters beneath the earth [q]." There are two important concluſions to be drawn from the reaſon of this exhortation, *for you ſaw no*

[p] EXOD. xx. 3, 4, 5.

[q] DEUT. iv. 15, 16, 17.

manner

manner of ſimilitude, &c. The firſt is, that the Egyptian brute-worſhip was *ſymbolical*; the other, that MOSES's prime intention was to warn the people againſt repreſenting the GOD of Iſrael under the ſhape of men or animals, in the guiſe of the greater Gods of Egypt. This obſervation will open our way to another circumſtance, which ſhews that the worſhip of the *living animal* was not yet in uſe amongſt the Egyptians; and that is, the idolatrous erection of the *golden calf*[r]. The people now ſuſpecting they had loſt MOSES, whom they were taught to conſider as the vicegerent, or repreſentative of their GOD, grew impatient for another; and, beſotted with Egyptian ſuperſtitions, choſe for his repreſentative the ſame which the Egyptians uſed for the ſymbol of their great God, Oſiris. Interpreters ſeem to run into two different extremes concerning this matter, ſome conceiving that the Iſraelites worſhiped an egyptian God under the *golden calf*; though the worſhipers themſelves expreſly declare the contrary: "Theſe (ſay they) be thy Gods, O *Iſrael*, which "brought thee up out of the land of Egypt[s]." Others ſuppoſe the *calf* was not made in imitation of any egyptian ſymbol whatſoever, becauſe it was the living Apis that repreſented Oſiris: but we ſee the worſhip of the living animal was not yet introduced.

[r] As unanſwerable a proof as this appears to be, that the *living Animal* was not yet worſhiped in Egypt, (for if it were, what occaſion for this trouble and expence?) Yet a learned German, ſo oddly are men's heads ſometimes framed, brings this circumſtance to prove that the *living Animal* was at this time worſhiped in Egypt. — Eadem hiſtoria Moſaica cultus vivorum animalium in Ægypto, veſtigia alia non inficienda, tum ſæpe alias, tum vero omnium clariſſime in VITULO AUREO nobis offert. *Jablonſki — Pantheon Ægyptorum Prologom.* p. 85.

[s] EXOD. xxxii. 4.

troduced. However, in time, and in no long time neither, for it was as early as the Prophets, the Egyptians began to worſhip the *animal itſelf*; which worſhip, as might be well expected, prevailed at length over that of its image. *Colunt effigies multorum animalium, atque ipſa* MAGIS *animalia*, ſays Pomponius Mela[t] of the Egyptians; and this naturally gave birth to new ſuperſtitions; for, as he goes on, *Apis populorum omnium numen eſt. Bos niger, certis maculis inſignis—raro naſcitur*, nec coitu pecoris (*ut aiunt*) ſed divinitus & cœleſti igne conceptus.

Theſe conſiderations are ſufficient to ſhew that *hieroglyphics* were indeed the original of *brute-worſhip*: And how eaſy it was for the Egyptians to fall into it from the uſe of this kind of writing, appears from hence. In theſe hieroglyphics was recorded the hiſtory of their greater, and tutelary deities, their kings and lawgivers; repreſented by animals and other creatures. The ſymbol of each god was well known and familiar to his worſhipers, by means of the popular paintings and engravings on their temples and other ſacred monuments[u]: ſo that the ſymbol preſenting the idea of the God, and that idea exciting ſentiments of religion, it was natural for them, in their addreſſes to any particular deity, to turn towards his repreſentative, mark or ſymbol. This will be eaſily granted if we reflect, that when the egyptian prieſts began to ſpeculate, and grow myſterious, they feigned a

[t] *De ſit. orb.* lib. i. cap. 6.

[u] This account is ſupported by Herodotus, where ſaying that the *Egyptians firſt of all raiſed altars, ſtatues, and temples to the gods*, he immediately adds, and *engraved animals on ſtone*: βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ΖΩΑ ΕΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣΙ ΕΓΓΛΥΦΑΙ. l. ii. c. 4.

divine

divine original for hieroglyphic characters, in order to render them ſtill more auguſt and venerable. This would, of courſe, bring on a *relative* devotion to theſe ſymbolic figures; which, when it came to be paid to the living animal, would ſoon terminate in an *ultimate* worſhip.

But the occaſional propenſity to this ſuperſtition was, without queſtion, forwarded and encouraged by the Prieſthood; for it greatly ſupported the worſhip of the hero-deities, by making their theology more intricate; and by keeping out of ſight, what could not but weaken religious veneration in remote poſterity, the naked truth, that they were onſy DEAD MEN DEIFIED. And theſe advantages they afterwards improved with notable addreſs; by making thoſe Symbols as well relative to new conceived imaginary qualities and influences of their firſt *natural gods*, the hoſt of heaven, as to what they properly reſpected, in hieroglyphic writing, their later heroes and tutelary deities: Which trick invented to keep the Egyptians in their ſuperſtition, ſpread ſo impenetrable an obſcurity over paganiſm, as hindered the moſt ſagacious Philoſophers and knowing Antiquaries of Greece from ever getting a right view of the riſe and progreſs of their own idolatry.

And, if I be not much miſtaken, it was the deſign of theſe Egyptian prieſts to commemorate the advantages of this contrivance in the celebrated fable[x] of TYPHON'S WAR WITH THE GODS; who, diſtreſſed and terrified by this earth-born giant, fled from his perſecution into EGYPT; and there hid

[x] *Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. p. 54. *Steph. Ed.* informs us, that this was an Egyptian fable: as does *Lucian*, in his tract *De ſacrificiis.*

them-

themſelves each under the form of a ſeveral ANIMAL. This adventure is related by Ovid in a very agreeable and artful manner, where he makes one of the impious Pierides ſing it, in their conteſt with the Muſes:

Bella canit ſuperûm: Falſoque in honore gigantes
Ponit, & extenuat magnorum facta deorum;
Emiſſumque ima de ſede Typhoëa terræ
Cœlitibus feciſſe metum; cunctoſque dediſſe
Terga fugæ: donec feſſos ÆGYPTIA *tellus*
Ceperit, & ſeptem diſcretus in oſtia Nilus.
Huc quoque terrigenam veniſſe Typhoëa narrat,
Et ſe MENTITIS *ſuperos celaſſe* FIGURIS:
Duxque gregis, dixit, fit Jupiter: UNDE recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys eſt cum cornibus Ammon.
Delius in corvo, proles Semeleïa capro,
Fele ſoror Phœbi, nivea Saturnia vacca,
Piſce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Ibidis alis[y].

Typhon, amongſt the Egyptians, was the exemplar of impiety: ſo that under that name we are to underſtand the *inquiſitive*, which the prieſts always ſurnamed *the impious*; (ſuch who in after times, followed the celebrated Euhemerus of Greece) theſe, in a malicious ſearch into the genealogies of their Gods, had ſo near detected their original, and conſequently endangered their worſhip, that the prieſts had nothing left but to perplex and embroil the enquiry, by encouraging the SYMBOLIC worſhip as explained above. Hence this fable (in which they celebrated the ſubtility of their expedient) that Egypt afforded a place of refuge for the Gods; who there lay hid under the *forms of*

[y] *Metam.* lib. v. fab. 5.

beaſts. Where we muſt obſerve, that the ſhape each God was ſaid to have aſſumed, was that of his ſymbolic mark in hieroglyphic writing [z]. Indeed Antonius Liberalis [a] differs from Ovid in the particular transformations; and Lucian [b], from them both; but this rather confirms than weakens our interpretation; ſince each God, as we have ſeen, was denoted by divers hieroglyphics. We muſt not ſuppoſe however, that the whole of their diſtreſs, came from the quarter of their enemies. More favourable enquirers would be a little troubleſome. And the ſame expedient would keep them at a diſtance likewiſe. The Prieſts ſeem to have hinted at this caſe likewiſe, in the ſimilar ſtory they told Herodotus, "that Hercules was very deſirous to ſee Jupiter, who was by no means con-

[z] SIS, in the eaſtern languages, ſignified a *ſwallow*: under whoſe form, as this fable ſays, Iſis concealed herſelf: and BUBASTE, which ſignifies a *cat*, was the egyptian name of Diana, who lay hid under that ſhape. Hence the learned Bochart ſuppoſes, in his uſual way, that the original of this fable was only an equivoque of ſome greek ſtory-teller, whoſe countrymen delighted in the marvellous. But 1. The fable was not of greek invention, if we may believe Diodorus and Lucian; the latter of whom, ſpeaking of the Egyptian account of it, ſays, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ἀπόκειται γεγραμμένα. περὶ ἧς περὶ ἐτῶν μυρίων, *de ſacrificiis.* 2. This only places the difficulty a ſtep backward, without removing it: For one might aſk, How came the Egyptian name of Diana to ſignify a *cat*; or the word Sis or Iſis to ſignify a *ſwallow*? Can any other good reaſon be given but that theſe Goddeſſes were expreſſed by ſuch *ſymbols* in hieroglyphic writing? Agreeably to this, *Horapollo* tells us [lib. i. cap. 7.] that the *hieroglyphic* for the *ſoul* was a *hawk*, which in the Egyptian tongue was called *Baieth*, a word compounded of *Bai* and *Eth*, the firſt of which ſignified, in that language, the *ſoul*; the other the *heart*: for according to the Egyptians the heart was the incloſure of the ſoul. But if this were the caſe, what we have given above ſeems the more natural original of the ſtory.

[a] Cap. xxviii. [b] De Sacrif.

ſenting

ſenting to this interview; at laſt overcome by the hero's importunity, he eluded his curioſity, by this expedient: he flay'd the carcaſe of a ram; and inveſting himſelf with the ſkin ſeparated with the head from the body, he preſented himſelf under that appearance to the inquirer[c]." Herodotus himſelf ſeems to hint at ſomething like the explanation of the fable of Typhon given above, where ſpeaking of Pan ſoon after, and on the ſame occaſion, he ſays, "The Egyptians repreſent Pan "as the Grecians paint him, with the face and legs "of a goat. Not that they imagine this to be his "real form, which is the ſame with that of the "other Gods. But I take no ſatisfaction in re-"cording the reaſon they give for repreſenting "him in this manner[d]." From theſe two different ways of relating the circumſtance of Jupiter's and Pan's diſguiſes under a brutal form, it appears that the egyptian prieſts had two accounts concerning it, the exoteric and the eſoteric. Herodotus, in the ſtory of Jupiter, makes no ſcruple to record the firſt; but the other, which concerns Pan's transformation, he did not care to touch upon.

If this explanation of the famous fable of Typhon needed any further ſupport, we might find it in

[c] Θηβαῖοι μέν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἴων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι παύλως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δὲ, ἐπεί τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προισχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπολαμόντα τῷ κριῷ, καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος, οὕτω δὴ ἑωυτὸν ἐπιδείξαι. lib. ii. c. 42.

[d] —τῷ Πανὸς τῴγαλμα, κατάπερ Ἕλληνες, αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα· οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναί μιν, ἀλλ' ὅμοιον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι. ὅτεῳ δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὐ μοι ἡδὺ ἐστι λέγειν. lib. ii. c. 46.

what the Egyptian Theologers continued to deliver down concerning it. Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking of the difficulty in diſcovering the true original of Egyptian brute-worſhip, ſays, that the prieſts had a profound ſecret concerning it [e]: A ſtrong preſumption that this here delivered, was the ſecret; it being the only one which the Prieſts were much concerned to keep to themſelves; as we ſhall ſee when we come to ſpeak of the *cauſes* aſſigned by the Ancients for brute-worſhip. What the Prieſts thought fit to intruſt to the people concerning this matter, the Sicilian tells us, was this; *That the Gods of the early times being few in number, and ſo forced to yield to the multitude and injuſtice of earth-born men, aſſumed the forms of divers Animals, and by that means eſcaped the cruelty and violence of their enemies; but that, at length, gaining the empire of the world, they conſecrated the ſpecies of thoſe Animals whoſe forms they had aſſumed, in gratitude for that relief which they had received from them in their diſtreſſes* [f]. The moral of the fable lies too open to need an Interpreter: it can hardly, indeed, be any other than that we have here given. But Diodorus aids us in the diſcovery of that ſecret, which he himſelf appears not to have penetrated, where he ſays that Melampus, who brought the *Myſteries of Proſerpine* from Egypt into Greece, taught them the ſtory of TYPHON, and *the whole*

[e] Οἱ μὲν Ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν ἀποῤῥήτόν τι δόγμα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσιν. —— lib. i. p. 54.

[f] Φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους θεοὺς, ὀλίγους ὄντας καὶ κατισχυομένους ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμοιωθῆναι τισὶ τῶν ζώων, καὶ διὰ τοιούτου τρόπου διαφυγεῖν τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ βίαν αὐτῶν· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν καθ' ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πάντων κρατήσαντας καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόντας, ἀφιερῶσαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν —— lib. i. p. 54.

hiſtory of the diſaſters and ſufferings of the Gods[g]. Now we have ſhewn[h] that one part of the office of the *Hierophant* of the Myſteries was to reveal the true original of Polytheiſm: which inſtruction could not be conveyed more appoſitely, than in the hiſtory of *Typhon*, as here explained. From the whole then, we conclude, that *this* was indeed the *profound ſecret*, which the Egyptian prieſts had concerning it. So that the paſſage of Diodorus, laſt quoted, not only ſupports our interpretation of the *fable of Typhon*, but of the *ſecret of the Myſteries* likewiſe.

Only one thing is worth our notice, that the Prieſts ſhould think fit to give the people this curious origin of brute-worſhip: We have obſerved, that they promoted and encouraged this Brutal-idolatry in order to hide the weakneſs of their Hero-worſhip: but then ſome reaſon was to be given for that more extravagant ſuperſtition; ſo, by a fine contrivance, they made the *circumſtances* of the fable, by which they would commemorate their addreſs in introducing a new ſuperſtition to ſupport the old, a *reaſon* for that introduced ſupport. This was a fetch of policy worthy of an Egyptian prieſthood.

But let us hear what the Ancients in general have to ſay concerning the beginning of *brute-worſhip*. Now the Ancients having generally miſtaken the origin of *Hieroglyphics*, it is no wonder they ſhould be miſtaken, in this likewiſe: and how much they were miſtaken, their diverſity and in-

[g] τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν. lib. i.

[h] Vol. i. part 1.

conſtancy

conſtancy of opinion plainly ſhew us: And yet amidſt this diverſity, the cauſe here aſſigned hath eſcaped them; which had otherwiſe, 'tis probable, put an end to all farther conjecture. But as they chanced to fall into variety of wrong opinions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them. What I can at preſent recollect as any way deſerving notice, are the following:

They ſuppoſe brute-worſhip to have ariſen,

1. From the *benefits* men receive of animals.

2. From the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis.*

3. From the uſe of *aſteriſms.*

4. From the notion of GOD's *pervading* all things.

5. From the uſe of Animals as *Symbols* of the divine nature.

6. From the invention of a certain egyptian king for his private ends of *policy.*

Theſe, I think, are all the opinions of moment. And of theſe, we may obſerve in general, that the fourth and fifth are leaſt wide of the truth, as making brute-worſhip *ſymbolical:* But the defect, common to them all, is that the reaſon aſſigned by each concludes for the univerſality of this worſhip throughout paganiſm; whereas it was in fact peculiar to Egypt; and ſeen and owned to be ſo by theſe very Ancients themſelves.

I. The firſt opinion is that we find in Cicero[i], who ſuppoſes the original to be *a grateful ſenſe of benefits received from animals.* 1. This labours under all the defects of an inadequate cauſe, as concluding both too much, and too little: Too much; becauſe, on this ground, brute-worſhip would have been common to all nations; but it was peculiar to the Egyptian and its colonies: Too little; 1. becauſe on this ground none but uſeful animals ſhould have been worſhiped; whereas ſeveral of the moſt uſeleſs and noxious[k] were held ſacred. 2. *Plant-*

[i] *Ipſi, qui irridentur, Ægyptii, nullam beluam, niſi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, conſecraverunt. — Ita concludam tamen beluas a Barbaris propter beneficium conſecratas.* Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 36. this, in the perſon of *Cotta the academic.* How ill it agrees with what the ſame Cotta ſays afterwards, I have ſhewn above: *Omne ferè genus* Beſtiarum Ægyptii conſecraverunt. lib. iii. cap. 15. Now this being a fact, and the other but a ſpeculation, we ſee the reaſon has no weight. The wonder is that Tully ſhould not ſee it. But the notion was plauſible, and antiquity ſeemed enamoured of it. When Plutarch [*Iſ. & Oſ.*] had ſaid, the Jews worſhiped ſwine; not content with this ſimple calumny, he invents a reaſon for it; and takes up this which lay ſo commodious for theſe occaſions; namely, gratitude to that animal for having taught men to plow the ground.

[k] A paſſage in Euſebius ſtrongly confirms our opinion of the origin of brute-worſhp; and, conſequently, accounts for the adoration paid to *noxious* animals: Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαγχουνιαθῶνος μεταβαλὼν, θέα ὁποῖά φησι περὶ τῶν ἑρπυστικῶν καὶ ἰοβόλων θηρίων, ἃ δὴ χρῆσιν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ἀνθρώποις οὐδεμίαν συντελεῖ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ λύμην οἷς ἂν τὸν δυσαλθῆ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰὸν ἐγχρίμψειεν ἀπεργάζεται· γράφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγων. Τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ Δράκοντος φύσιν καὶ τῶν Ὄφεων αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασεν ὁ Τάαυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὖθις Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. [*Pr. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10.] *Conſider again what he* [*Philo*] *ſays in his tranſlation of Sanchoniatho's diſcourſe of the Phenician elements, concerning* certain reptiles and other venomous animals, *which not only bring no benefit to man, but convey certain miſchief and deſtruction on whomſoever they ſhed their deadly venom. Theſe are his very words. Taautus therefore* conſecrated *the ſpecies of dragons and ſerpents,*

2. *Plant-worship* must then, in the nature of things, have been prior to, or at least coeval with that of *brutes.* But it was much later; and, on our theory, we see how this came to pass; the *vegetable* world would not be explored, to find out hieroglyphical analogies, 'till the *animal* had been exhausted.

II. Neither could *the doctrine of the metempsychosis*, mentioned by DIODORUS[1], be the origin of brute-worship: 1. Because that opinion was common to all nations; but brute-worship peculiar to Egypt. The doctrine of the *metempsychosis* flourisheth, at this day, with greater vigour in India, than, perhaps, it ever did in any place or age of the world: yet it occasions no worship, or religious veneration to those animals which are supposed the receptacles of departed souls. A very excessive charity towards them it does indeed afford. And this is the more remarkable, not only as this people are sunk into the most sordid supersti-

serpents, and the Phenicians and Egyptians followed him in this superstition. The quotation from Philo then goes on to shew, from the nature of the serpent-kind, why it was made a symbol of the Divinity. The discourse of Sanchoniathon here mentioned, as translated by Philo, was part of a larger work, which he wrote concerning the Phenician and Egyptian wisdom and learning, and treated of *hieroglyphic characters*, as appears from the title of Φοινίκων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, which latter word, I have shewn to be the technical term for *hieroglyphics:* but how a digression, concerning the consecration of noxious animals should come into this discourse, unless the author understood *hieroglyphics* to be the origin of *brute-worship*, is difficult to conceive.

[1] Diodorus delivers this original, in his account of the superstitious worship of the Apis: Τῆς δὲ τοῦ βοὸς τούτου τιμῆς αἰτίαν ἔνιοι φέρουσι, λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος, εἰς τοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ μετέστη, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διατελεῖ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναδείξεις αὐτοῦ μεθισταμένη πρὸς τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους. lib. i. p. 54.

tions, but becauſe, having learnt animal-worſhip of Egypt [m], if the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis* had any natural tendency to inflame that ſuperſtition, they had by this time been totally devoted to it. 2. Becauſe the hypotheſis which makes *tranſmigration* the origin of brute-worſhip, muſt ſuppoſe brutes to be venerated as the receptacle of *human* ſouls become deified: but the ancient Egyptians deified none but *heroic* and *demonic* ſouls: and ſouls of this order were not ſuppoſed ſubject to the common law of the *metempſychoſis* [n]. 3. The intruſion of thoſe ſouls into brutal bodies, according to the law of tranſmigration, was underſtood to be a puniſhment for crimes. Their priſon-houſe therefore could never become the object of adoration; but rather of averſion and abhorrence; as all *ſubterraneous* fire was amongſt the ancient Romans, and as that of *purgatory* is amongſt the modern. 4. Laſtly, the doctrine of the *metempſychoſis* was much later than the firſt practice of brute-worſhip; and evidently invented to remove objections againſt Providence [o], when men began to ſpeculate and philoſophiſe. What ſeems to have given birth to this opinion of the origin of brute-worſhip, was the fancy of the later Egyptians, that the ſoul of Oſiris reſided in the Apis. Diodorus himſelf ſupports the conjecture: For, reckoning up the ſeveral opinions concerning the origin of brute-worſhip when he comes to that of the *metem-*

[m] As appears from hence, that thoſe few animals, which are the objects of their religious worſhip, are ſuch as were formerly moſt reverenced in Egypt; and into ſuch, no ſouls are doomed by the law of tranſmigration; the reaſon of which we ſhall ſee preſently.

[n] The difference between *heroic*, *demonic*, and *human* ſouls, as it was conceived by the moſt early pagans, will be explained hereafter.

[o] See vol. i. part ii. ed. 4. p. 135.

pſychoſis,

pſychoſis, he delivers it in a popular relation of the ſoul of Oſiris reſiding in the Apis.

III. The third opinion we find to be favoured by LUCIAN [o]; which is, that *the Egyptian invention of diſtinguiſhing the Conſtellations, and marking each of them with the name of ſome animal, gave the firſt occaſion to brute-worſhip.* But 1. the ſame objection lies againſt this ſolution as againſt the two preceding: for this way of diſtinguiſhing the Aſteriſms was in uſe in all nations; but brute-worſhip was confined to Egypt and its colonies. 2. This way of ſolving the difficulty creates a greater: for then nothing will be left in Antiquity [p], to account for ſo extraordinary a cuſtom as the giving to one Conſtellation the form of a ram, to another the form of a ſcorpion, *&c.* when, in the apparent diſpoſition of thoſe ſtars there was not ſo much reſemblance to any one part of any one animal as was ſufficient to ſet the fancy on work to make out the reſt. But if, for diſtinction ſake, thoſe things were to have a name which had no ſhape [q]; why

[o] Οἱ δὲ [Αἰγύπτιοι] καὶ ἄλλα ἐμηχανῶντο πολλῷ μείζω τοιάδε· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἠέρος, καὶ ἀστέρων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπλανέων τε καὶ εὐσταθέων, καὶ οὐδ' ἅμα κινουμένων, δυώδεκα μοίρας ἐτάμοντο ἐν τοῖσι κινουμένοισι, καὶ οἰκεῖα ζῶια ἐόντα, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλην μορφὴν μεμιμέαλαι — ἀπὸ τέων δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πολυειδέα ποιέεται· ἐπεὶ γὰρ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα μοιρέων πασέων ἐμπλέονται, ἄλλοι δὲ, ἀλλοίῃσι μοίρῃσιν ἐχρέοντο· καὶ κριὸν μὲν σέβουσιν, ὁκόσοι ἐς κριὸν ἀπέβλεπον· ἰχθύας δὲ οὐ σιλέονται, ὁκόσοι ἰχθύας ἐπισημήναντο· οὐδὲ τράγον κλείουσιν, ὅσοι αἰγόκερων ἔδισαν — καὶ μὴν καὶ Ταῦρον ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ ἠρίου Ταύρου σεβίζονται. *De Aſtrologia.*

[p] I ſay, in Antiquity: for as to the ſolution of this point by the liberty of imagining, nothing is more eaſy. The french author of *the Hiſtory of the Heavens* has, by the mere force of imagination, removed all theſe difficulties; not only without any ſupport from Antiquity, but even in defiance of it.

[q] Εἴδεα σημαίνοιεν ἄφαρ δ' ὀνόμαστα γένοιντο
Ἄστρα — *Arat.* in Φαινομ.

then, as being of ſuch regard from their ſuppoſed influences, were they not rather honoured with the titles of their heroes than of their brutes? Would the polite Egyptian prieſts, who firſt animalized the Aſteriſms, do like Tom Otter in the comedy, bring their *Bulls* and *Bears* to court? would they exalt them in heaven before they had made any conſiderable figure upon earth? The fact is, indeed, juſt otherwiſe. It was brute-worſhip which gave birth to the Aſteriſms. That the conſtellations were firſt named and diſtinguiſhed by the Egyptians is agreed on all hands: that they were much later than the beginning of brute-worſhip is as evident; the confuſed multitude of ſtars not being thus ſorted into bands, 'till the Egyptian prieſts had made ſome conſiderable progreſs in aſtronomy: But brute-worſhip, we know from Scripture, was prior to the time of Moses. When they began to collect the ſtars into Conſtellations, a name was neceſſary to keep up the combination; and animals, now become the religious ſymbols of their Gods, afforded the apteſt means for that purpoſe: For 1. it did honour to their heroes: 2. it ſupported their *aſtrology* (which always went along, and was often confounded with their *aſtronomy*) it being underſtood to imply that their country Gods had now taken up their reſidence in Conſtellations of benignant influence.

IV. Nor is there any better foundation for the fourth opinion; which is that of Porphyry[r]; who ſuppoſes that *the doctrine of* God's *pervading all*

[r] Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως, ἔγνωσαν, ὡς ὐ δι' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διῆλθεν, ἤτε ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς καθεσκήνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διῆλθεν τῶν ζώων· διὸ εἰς τὴν θεοποιΐαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῶον. — *De Abſt.* lib. iv.

things

things was the original of brute-worship. But, 1. it proves too much: for according to this notion, every thing would have been the object of divine worship amongst the early Egyptians, but we know many were not. 2. According to this notion, nothing could have been the object of their execration, but we know many were. 3. This notion was never an opinion of the people, but of a few of the learned only: 4. And those, not of the learned of Egypt, but of Greece [s]. In a word, this pretended original of brute-worship was only an invention of their late Philosophers, to hide the deformities, and to support the credit of declining paganism [t].

V. Akin to this, and invented for the same end, is what we find in JAMBLICHUS [u]; namely, *That brutes were deified only as the symbols of the first cause, considered in all his attributes and relations.* Groundless as this fancy is, yet as it is embraced by our best philologists, such as Cudworth, Vossius, and Kircher, on the faith of those fanatic and inveterate enemies to christianity, Porphyry and Jamblichus, I shall endeavour to expose it as it deserves. This will be the best done by considering the rise and order of the *three great species of idolatry.* The first, in time, was, as we have shewn, the worship

[s] See vol. i. part ii. p. 202, & *seq.* [t] See vol. i.

[u] Πρότερον δή σοι βούλομαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεολογίως διερμηνεῦσαι· ἔτοι γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ παντὸς, καὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν τῶν θεῶν μιμούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μυστικῶν καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν νοήσεων εἰκόνας τινὰς διά συμβόλων ἐκφαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ φύσις τοῖς ἐμφανέσιν εἴδεσι τοὺς ἀφανεῖς λόγους διὰ συμβόλων, τρόπον τινὰ, ἀπετυπώσατο· ἡ δὲ τῶν θεῶν δημιουργία, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν εἰδῶν διὰ τῶν φανερῶν εἰκόνων ὑπεγράψατο· εἰδότες οὖν χαίροντα πάντα τὰ κρείττονα ὁμοιώσει τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτὰ ἀγαθῶν οὕτω πληροῦν διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μιμήσεως, εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πρόσφορον αὐτοῖς τρόπον τῆς κεκρυμμένης ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις μυσταγωγίας προφέρουσιν. *De Myst. Ægypt.* sect. 7. c. i.

of

of the *heavenly bodies*; and this continued unmixed till the inſtitution of political Society: Then, another ſpecies aroſe, the deification of *dead kings and lawgivers*. Such was the courſe of idolatry in all places as well as in Egypt: but there, the method of recording the hiſtory of their hero Gods, in improved *hieroglyphics*, gave birth to the third ſpecies of idolatry, *brute-worſhip*; and this was peculiar to Egypt and its colonies. Now as the method uſed by all nations, of ingrafting *hero-worſhip* on *ſtar-worſhip*, occaſioned the Philologiſts to miſtake [x] the former as ſymbolical of the latter; ſo the method, uſed by the Egyptians, (mentioned a little before) of ſupporting brute-worſhip, which was really ſymbolical of their hero Gods, made the ſame writers think it to be originally ſymbolical of ſtar-Gods, and even of the firſt Cauſe. Thus the very learned Voſſius fell into two miſtakes: 1. That hero-worſhip was ſymbolical of ſtar-worſhip: 2. That brute-worſhip was ſymbolical of it likewiſe. The conſequence of which was, that the ſyſtem of phyſical-theology, which was, indeed, one of the laſt ſciences of the Egyptian *ſchool*, was ſuppoſed to be the firſt; and hero worſhip, which was indeed the firſt religion of the Egyptian *church*, was ſuppoſed to be the laſt. This is no more than ſaying, that (for reaſons given before) the Magiſtrate would very early inſtitute the worſhip of their dead benefactors; and that the Philoſopher could have no occaſion, till many ages afterwards, (when men grew inquiſitive or licentious) to hide the ignominy of it, by making thoſe hero Gods only ſhadowy Beings, and no more than emblems of the ſeveral parts of nature [y].

Now

[x] See the firſt vol.

[y] And it is remarkable that this, which was done to hide the *ignominy of vulgar Paganiſm*, the advocates of the Church of Rome

Now tho' the doctrine of this early *phyſical Theology*, as explained by the Greeks, makes very much for the high antiquity of Egyptian learning, the point I am concerned to prove; yet as my only end is truth, in all theſe enquiries, I can, with the ſame pleaſure, confute an error which ſupports my ſyſtem, that I have in detecting thoſe which made againſt it.

The common notion of theſe Philologiſts, we ſee, brings Hero-worſhip, by conſequence, very low; and as ſome of their followers have purſued that conſequence, I ſhall beg leave to examine their reaſonings. The learned author of the *Connections* puſhes the matter very far:—"It does not "appear from this table [the *Bembine*] that the "Egyptians worſhiped any idols of human ſhape, "at the time when this table was compoſed, but "rather on the contrary, all the images herein re-"preſented, before which any perſons are deſcribed "in poſtures of adoration, being the figures of "birds, beaſts, or fiſhes; this table ſeems to "have been delineated BEFORE the Egyptians wor-"ſhiped the images of men and women; WHICH "WAS THE LAST AND LOWEST STEP OF THEIR "IDOLATRY[z]." Now the whole of this obſerva-

Rome have lately revived, to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Popery*, in their ſaint-worſhip: nothing having been of late more faſhionable amongſt the French Philologiſts than the contending againſt that moſt eſtabliſhed doctrine of early Antiquity, that the greater Gods of Paganiſm were all dead men deified. Il ſoit aiſé de prouver (ſays one of them) que, de tous les Dieux du Paganiſme, Hercule, Caſtor & Pollux ſont les ſeuls qui aient eté veritablement des hommes. *Hiſt. de l' Academie Royale des Inſcrip.* &c. tom. xxiii. p. 17.

[z] *Sacred and Profane Hiſtory of the World connected*, vol. ii. p. 320.

tion

tion will, I am afraid, only amount to an *illogical conſequence* drawn from *a falſe fact*; let the reader judge. *All the images* (he ſays) *herein repreſented before which any perſons are deſcribed, in poſtures of adoration, are the figures of birds, beaſts, and fiſhes.* I was ſome time in doubt whether the learned writer and I had ſeen the ſame table: for in that given us by Kircher, the whole body of the picture is filled up with the greater Egyptian Gods in HUMAN SHAPE; before ſeveral of which, are other human figures in poſtures of adoration; unleſs the learned writer will confine that poſture to kneeling, which yet he brings no higher than the time of Solomon [a]. Some of theſe worſhipers are repreſented *ſacrificing* [b]; others in the act of offering; and offering to Gods inthroned [c]. One of which figures I have cauſed to be engraved [d] where a mummy from Kircher's *Oedipus* [e] will ſhew us what ſort of idol it is which we ſee worſhiped by offerings [f]. With regard to the kneeling poſtures of adoration, to birds, beaſts, and fiſhes, theſe are in a narrow border of the table, which runs round the principal compartments. The learned writer indeed ſeems to make a matter of it, "that "all the images that kneel, are repreſented as "paying their worſhip to ſome animal figure; "there not being one inſtance or repreſentation of "this worſhip paid to an image of human form,

[a] *Sacred and Profane Hiſtory of the World connected*, vol. ii. p. 317.

[b] As at [S. V.] [c] As at [T. Φ.] [O. Σ.] and [S. X.]
[d] See plate IX. fig. 1. [e] Fig. 2. plate IX.
[f] Fig. 1.

"either

"either on the border or in the table[g]." But ſurely there is no myſtery in this. The table was apparently made for the devotees of Iſis in Rome: Now, amongſt the Romans, brute-worſhip was ſo uncommon that the artiſt thought proper to mark it out by the moſt diſtinguiſhed poſture of adoration; while the worſhip of the greater Hero-Gods, a worſhip like their own, was ſufficiently deſigned by the ſole acts of offering and ſacrifice.

But ſuppoſing the fact to have been as the writer of theſe *Connections* repreſents it; how, I aſk, would his conſequence follow, *That the table was made* BEFORE *the Egyptians worſhiped the images of men and women?* It depends altogether on this ſuppoſition, that Brute-worſhip was not ſymbolical of Hero-worſhip; but the contrary hath been ſhewn. The learned author himſelf muſt own that Apis, at leaſt, was the *ſymbol* of the Hero-God Oſiris. But can any one believe, he was not worſhiped in his own figure before he was delineated under that of an ox? To ſay the truth, had this author's fact been right, it had been a much juſter conſequence, *That the table was made* AFTER *the Egyptians had generally left off worſhiping the images of men and women*; for it is certain, the ſymbolic worſhip of brutes brought human images into diſuſe. Who can doubt but human images of Hero-Gods were uſed in Egypt long before the time of Strabo? yet he tells us[h], that in their

[g] *Sacred and Profane Hiſtory of the World connected*, vol. ii. p. 318.

[h] Τῆς δὲ καλασκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ διάθεσις τοιαύτη. Καλὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, &c. —— μετὰ δὲ τὰ προπύλαια, ὁ νεὼς παρόσον ἔχων μέγαν, καὶ ἀξιόλογον. τὸν δὲ σηκὸν σύμμετρον, ξόανον δὲ ἀθέατον, ἢ ἐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τινός. *Geogr.* lib. xvii. p. 1158, 1159. *Amſt. ed.*

temples,

temples, (of which he gives a general deſcription) they either had no images, or none of human form, but of ſome beaſt. He could not mean in thoſe temples, dedicated to animals; for where had been the wonder of that? nor will this diſuſe of human images appear ſtrange to thoſe who reflect on what hath been ſaid of theſe *Symbols*, which being ſuppoſed given by the Gods themſelves, their uſe in religious worſhip would be thought moſt pleaſing to the givers.

This concluſion is further ſtrengthened by theſe conſiderations: 1. That the age of the *table* is ſo far from being of the antiquity conceived by the learned writer, that it is the very lateſt of all the old egyptian monuments; as appears from the mixture of all kinds of hieroglyphic characters in it. 2. That on almoſt all the obeliſks[1] in Kircher's *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, which are undoubtedly very ancient, we ſee adoration given to idols in human form; and likewiſe in that very way the learned author ſo much inſiſts upon, namely *Genuflexion*.

Thus, tho' from the *Bembine-table* nothing can be concluded for the high date of heroic image-worſhip, yet nothing can be concluded for the low. However the learned writer will ſtill ſuppoſe, (what every one is ſo apt to do) that he is in the right; and therefore tries to maintain his ground by fact and reaſon.

His argument from *fact* ſtands thus:—"The "Egyptians relate a very remarkable fable of the

[1] Namely the *Lateran* of *Rameſſes*, the *Flaminian* of *Pſammitichus*, the *Salluſtian*, and the *Conſtantinopolitan*.

"birth

" birth of theſe five Gods. They ſay that Rhea " lay privately with Saturn, and was with child " by him; that the Sun, upon finding out her baſe- " neſs, laid a curſe upon her, that ſhe ſhould not " be delivered in any month or year: That Mer- " cury being in love with the goddeſs lay with her " alſo; and then played at dice with the Moon, " and won from her the ſeventy ſecond part of " each day, and made up of theſe winnings five " days, which he added to the year, making " the year to conſiſt of three hundred ſixty five " days, which before conſiſted of three hundred " and ſixty days only; and that in theſe days Rhea " brought forth five children, Oſiris, Orus, Typho " Iſis, and Nephthe. We need not enquire into " the mythology of this fable; what I remark " from it is this, that the fable could not be in- " vented before the Egyptians had found out that " the year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty " five days, and conſequently that by their own " accounts the five deities ſaid to be born on the " five ἐπαγόμεναι, or additional days, were not " deified before they knew that the year had theſe " five days added to it; and this addition to the " year was made about—*A. M.* 2665. a little " after the death of Joſhua[k]."

I agree with this learned author, that *the fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty five days*; I agree with him, that *the addition of the five days might be made about* A. M. 2665; but I deny the conſequence, that *the five Gods were not deified before this addition to the year*; nay, I deny that it will follow from the fable, that the makers

[k] *Connect.* vol. ii. p. 283, 284.

and

and venders of it ſo thought. What hath miſled the learned writer, ſeems to be his ſuppoſing that the fable was made to commemorate the deification of the five Gods, whereas it was made to commemorate the inſertion of the five days; as appears from its being told in that figurative and allegoric manner, in which the Egyptians uſually conveyed the hiſtory of their ſcience: and it was ever the way of Antiquity, to make the Gods a party, in order to give the greater reverence to the inventions of men. A deſign to commemorate the *time of deification* was ſo abſurd a thing in the politics of a pagan prieſt, that we can never believe he had any thing of that kind in view: it was his buſineſs to throw the Godhead back before all time; or at leaſt to place it from time immemorial. But admitting the maker of this fable intended to celebrate in general the hiſtory of theſe five gods, can we think that he, who was hunting after the marvelous, would confine his invention within the incloſure of dates? a matter too of ſo dangerous a nature to be inſiſted on. We know, (and we now, partly, ſee the reaſon of it) that the ancient mythologiſts affected to confound all chronology; a miſchief which hath ſo ſhaken the crazy edifice of ancient times, that the beſt chronologiſts have rather buried themſelves in its ruins, than been able to lead others through it: beſides, it is evident that new lies were every year told of their old Gods. Let him who doubts of this conſider what additions following poets and theologers have made to the fables which Homer and Heſiod had recorded of the Gods; additions, ſeen, by their very circumſtances, not to have been invented when thoſe ancient bards ſung of their intrigues. In theſe later fables we frequently find the Gods of Greece and Egypt concerned in adventures, whoſe dates, if meaſured by determined ſynchroniſms,

chroniſms, would bring down their births to ages even lower than their long eſtabliſhed worſhip. The not attending to this has, as will be ſeen hereafter, egregiouſly miſled the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton in his *ancient Chronology*. Thus the ſame author [l], Plutarch, tells us, in the ſame place, of another egyptian fable which makes *Typhon beget Hieroſolymus and Judæus* [m]. But what then? muſt we believe, that Typhon was no earlier than the name of Judæus? muſt we not rather conclude, that this was a late ſtory invented of him out of hatred and contempt of the Hebrews?

In a word, this practice of adding new mythology to their old divinity was ſo notorious, that the learned *Connector of ſacred and prophane hiſtory* could not himſelf forbear taking notice of it: "The Egyptians (ſays he) having firſt called "their heroes by the names of their *ſiderial* and "*elementary* deities, ADDED IN TIME TO THE HIS-"TORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF SUCH HE-"ROES, A MYTHOLOGICAL *account of their philoſo-*"*phical opinions* concerning the Gods whoſe names "had been given to ſuch heroes [n]."

But ſays this writer: "Had *Oſiris*, *Orus*, *Typho*, "*Iſis*, and *Nephthe* been eſteemed deities before "this additional length of the year was apprehend-"ed, *we ſhould not have had this, but ſome other*

[l] *If. & Of.*

[m] Tacitus ſeems to allude to this paltry fable: *Quidam, regnante Iſide, exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem, ducibus* Hieroſolyma & Juda, *proximas in terras exoneratam.* Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 2.

[n] *Connect.* vol. ii. p. 300, 301.

" *fabulous account of their birth tranſmitted to us*°."
Here the premiſſes and concluſion are ſeverally propped up by two falſe ſuppoſitions; the premiſſes, by this, that the fable was invented to *commemorate the origin of theſe gods*; and the concluſion, by this, that we have no *other fabulous account of their birth*.

From fact, the learned writer comes to reaſon; and ſpeaking of the egyptian hero-Gods, who he ſuppoſes, were ante-diluvian mortals, he ſays:—
" But I do not imagine they were deified until
" about this time of correcting the year; for when
" this humour firſt began, it is not likely that
" they made Gods of men but juſt dead, of whoſe
" infirmities and imperfections many perſons
" might be living witneſſes: but they took the
" names of their firſt anceſtors, whom they had
" been taught to honour for ages, and whoſe
" fame had been growing by the increaſe of tra-
" dition, and all whoſe imperfections had been
" long buried, that it might be thought they ne-
" ver had any.—It is hard to be conceived that a
" ſet of men could ever be choſen by their cotem-
" poraries to have divine honours paid them,
" whilſt numerous perſons were alive, who knew
" their imperfections, or who themſelves or their
" immediate anceſtors might have as fair a pre-
" tence, and come in competition with them.
" Alexander the great had but ill ſucceſs in his
" attempt to make the world believe him the ſon
" of Jupiter Ammon; nor could Numa Pompi-
" lius, the ſecond king of Rome, make Romu-
" lus's tranſlation to heaven ſo firmly believed,
" as not to leave room for ſubſequent hiſtorians to

° Vol. ii. p. 284.

" report

" report him killed by his ſubjects. Nor can I " conceive that Julius Cæſar's canonization, " though it was contrived more politicly, would " ever have ſtood long indiſputable, if the light " of Chriſtianity had not appeared ſo ſoon af- " ter this time as it did, and impaired the credit " of the heathen ſuperſtitions. The fame of de- " ceaſed perſons muſt have ages to grow up to " heaven, and divine honours cannot be given " with any ſhew of DECENCY, but by a late poſte- " rity [p]."

He ſays, *it is not likely they made Gods of men but juſt dead, of whoſe infirmities and imperfections many perſons might be living witneſſes.* How *likely* ſhall be conſidered preſently; but that they did in fact do ſo, is too plain, methinks, to be denied. The learned Euſebius, a competent judge, (if ever there was any) of ancient fact, delivers it as a notorious truth, that in the early ages, thoſe who excelled in wiſdom, ſtrength, or valour, who had eminently contributed to the common ſafety, or had greatly advanced the arts of life, were either deified during life, or immediately on their deceaſe [q]: This he had reaſon to believe, for he had good authority, the venerable hiſtory of Sanchoniathon the Phenician; which gives a very particular account of the origin of Hero-worſhip, and expreſly ſays the deification was immediate:

[p] *Connect.* vol. ii. p. 286, 287.

[q] — τρίτοι δὲ ἄλλοι, σφᾶς αὐτὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ῥίψαντες· τὺς ἐπὶ συνέσει τῶν κατ' αὐτὺς περιφέρειν νομισμένους, ἢ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος, καὶ δυναστείας ἰσχύει τῶν πλειόνων ἐπικραλήσαντας, γίγαντάς τινας, ἢ τυράννους, ἢ καὶ γόητας, καὶ φαρμακίας ἄνδρας, ἐκ τινος τῶς θειοτέρων ἀποπλώσεως, τὰς κακοήθεις γοητείας συνεσκευασμένους· ἢ καὶ τὺς ἄλλως κοινῆς τέ τινος καὶ βιωφελὲς εὑρέσεσίας περιάρξαντας, ζῶντας τε ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν. *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 5.

And ſurely, when men were become ſo fooliſh as to make Gods of their fellow creatures, the *likelieſt*, as well as moſt excuſable ſeaſon was, while the heat of gratitude, for new invented bleſſings, kept glowing in their hearts; or at leaſt, while the ſenſe of thoſe bleſſings was yet freſh and recent in their memories; in a word, while they were warmed with that enthuſiaſtic *love* and *admiration* which our great poet ſo ſublimely deſcribes:

" 'Twas virtue only (or in Arts or Arms,
" Diffuſing bleſſings, or averting harms)
" The ſame, which in a ſire the ſons obey'd,
" A prince, the father of a people made.
" On him their ſecond providence they hung,
" Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
" He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food;
" Taught to command the fire, controul the
" flood,
" Draw forth the monſters of th' abyſs profound,
" And fetch th' aerial eagle to the ground [r].

Was there any wonder in this, that he who taught mankind to ſubject all the elements to their uſe, ſhould, by a rude admiring multitude, be adjudged a being of a ſuperior order.

But they took the names of their firſt anceſtors, whoſe fame had been growing up by the increaſe of tradition. Without doubt, the anceſtors, men deified, and which, as being extreme early, may be called the *firſt*, had a very large and ſpreading reputation. But how was this procured but by an early apotheoſis? which, by making them the continual ſubject of hymns and panegyrics, preſerved

[r] *Eſſay on Man*, Ep. iii.

them

them from the oblivion of thoſe unletter'd ages: And in fact, the fame of all, but thoſe ſo deified, was very ſoon extinct and forgotten.

—*And all whoſe imperfections had been long buried, that it might be thought they never had any.* By this, one would be apt to think that the hero-Gods of Greece and Egypt, whoſe deification the learned writer would bring thus low, had nothing unſeemly told of them in their Legends: Which, were it true, the argument would have ſome weight. But what ſchool-boy has not read of the rogueries which the pagan worſhipers have every where recorded of their Gods? Are not theſe a convincing proof of their deification by that very age which ſaw both their virtues and their vices; but, with the fondneſs of times newly obliged, ſaw nothing but in an honourable light[s]; and ſo, unhappily canonized both the good and the bad together, and, in that condition, delivered them all down to poſterity? Not that I ſuppoſe (for I have juſt ſhewn the contrary) that late poets and mythologiſts did not add to the tales of their forefathers. I can hardly believe Jupiter to have been guilty of all the adulteries told of him in Ovid: But this one may ſafely ſay, that unleſs he had been a famed Adulterer, in early tradition, his later worſhipers had never dared to invent ſo many odious ſtories of the *Sire of gods and men.*

But, *it is hard to be conceived that they ſhould have divine honours immediately paid them, becauſe*

[s] — Quæ iſta juſtitia eſt, nobis ſuccenſere, quòd talia dicimus de diis eorum; & ſibi non ſuccenſere, qui hæc in Theatris libentiſſimè ſpectant crimina deorum ſuorum? & quod eſſet incredibile, niſi conteſtatiſſime probaretur, hæc ipſa theatrica crimina deorum ſuorum IN HONOREM INSTITUTA SUNT eorundem deorum. *Auguſt. de civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 10.

their cotemporaries might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them. I underſtood that *none* were deified but thoſe whoſe benefits to their fellow citizens, or to mankind at large, were very eminent; and that *all* with theſe pretenſions were deified; ſo that I ſcarce know what to make of this obſervation.

— But *Alexander and Cæſar's apotheoſes were ſcorned and laughed at*[t]. And ſo they deſerved. For if they, or their flatterers for them, would needs affect deification in a learned and enlightened age and place, no other could be expected from ſo abſurd an attempt. But then thoſe who knew better how to lay a religious project, found no impediment from their *nearneſs* to its execution. Thus Odin[u], about this very Cæſar's time, aſpired to immediate worſhip amongſt a rude and barbarous people, (the only ſcene for playing the farce with ſucceſs) and had as good fortune in it, as either Oſiris, Jupiter, or Belus.

— *Nor could Numa Pompilius make Romulus's tranſlation to heaven ſo firmly believed, as not to leave room for ſubſequent hiſtorians to report him killed by his ſubjects.* Here the writer conſcious that Antiquity oppoſed his hypotheſis of the *late* deification of their early heroes, with many glaring

[t] Plutarch uſes this very argument againſt Euhemerus to prove that their country gods *never* were mortal Men. Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣ. p. 641.

[u] Odinus *ſupremus eſt & antiquiſſimus Aſarum, qui omnes res gubernat; atque etiamſi cæteri Dii potentes ſint, omnes tamen ipſi inſerviunt, ut patri liberi. — Cum Pompeius dux quidam Romanorum Orientem bellis infeſtaret*, Odinus *ex Aſia huc in ſeptentrionem fugiebat.* Edda Snorronis apud Thom. Bartholin. de Antiq. Danic. p. 648 & 652.

examples

examples to the contrary, has thought fit to produce one [x] which he fancied he could deal with. *Romulus's tranſlation was never ſo firmly believed but that* SUBSEQUENT HISTORIANS, *&c.* As if at all times ſpeculative men did not ſee the origin of their beſt eſtabliſhed hero-gods: As if we could forget, what the learned writer himſelf takes care

[x] To this I ſhall be bold to add one or two more: For tho' Antiquity be full and clear in this matter, yet leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that as the Greeks talk of things done long before their time, it might very well be that, for the credit of the God, tradition would pretend a very early deification, how ſhort ſoever, in reality, of the age of the hero; leſt this, I ſay, ſhould be objected, I ſhall give an inſtance or two of the fact from contemporary evidence. God ſpeaking by the Prophet to the king of Tyre ſays: *Thine heart is lifted up, and thou haſt ſaid, I am a God, I ſit in the ſeat of God in the midſt of the ſeas; yet thou art a man and not God. — Wilt thou yet ſay before him that ſlayeth thee, I am a God? but thou ſhalt be a man and no God, in the hand of him that ſlayeth thee,* EZEK. xxviii. 2—9. This I underſtand to denote a real worſhip paid to the living king of Tyre, by his idolatrous ſubjects: it is not unlikely but he afterwards became one of the *greek Neptunes.* The Rabbins ſeem to have underſtood the text in this ſenſe, when, as Jerom obſerves, they made him to have lived a thouſand years. For the Egyptians taught (whoſe ceremonial of the *apotheoſis* was followed by the reſt of the nations) that their firſt God-Kings reigned a thouſand or twelve hundred years a-piece. Μυθολογῆσι (ſays Diodorus) δὲ κ᾽ τῶν θεῶν τὲς ἀρχαιοτάτες βασιλεῦσαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων κ᾽ διακοσίων ἐτῶν. — p. 15. We have already taken notice of Odin and his early conſecration. But Tacitus aſſures us, it was a general cuſtom amongſt the northern barbarians to deify without loſs of time: and this not in jeſt, like their cotemporary Romans. For ſpeaking of the German nations he ſays: *Ea virgo* [Velleda] *nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat:* VETERE *apud Germanos* MORE, *quo pleraſque feminarum fatidicas & augeſcente* ſuperſtitione, *arbitrentur* DEAS, lib. iv. hiſt. And again of the ſame heroine: *Vidimus* DIVO *Veſpaſiano* Velledam, *diu apud pleroſque* NUMINIS LOCO *habitam. Sed & olim Auriniam, & complureis alias venerati ſunt,* NON ADULATIONE NEC TANQUAM FACERENT DEAS. Here the hiſtorian hints at the mock deifications in Rome, and inſinuates, that theſe in Germany were of another nature, and believed in good earneſt.

to tell us in this very place, that *Euhemerus Meſſenius wrote a book to prove the ancient gods of the heathen world to have been only their ancient kings and commanders* [y].

The fame of deceaſed perſons (ſays he) *muſt have ages to grow up to heaven.—Muſt!* that is, in ſpite of a barbarous multitude, who would make Gods of them out of hand: in ſpite of ancient Story, which tells us plainly, they had their wicked wills.

—*And divine honours cannot be given with any ſhew of decency but by a late poſterity.* It muſt be confeſſed, the Ancients obſerved much *decency* when, in the number of their greater Gods, they admitted raviſhers, adulterers, pathics, vagabonds, thieves and murderers.

But now the learned writer, in toiling to bring hero-worſhip thus low, draws a heavier labour on himſelf; to invent ſome probable cauſe of the *apotheoſis:* that warmth of gratitude for god-like benefits received, which ancient hiſtory had ſo ſatisfactorily aſſigned for the cauſe, being now quite out of date. For when gratitude is ſuffered to cool for many ages, there will want ſome very ſtrong machine to draw theſe mortals up to heaven. However our author has ſupplied them with a moſt ſplendid vehicle. "Some ages after (ſays he) they "deſcended to worſhip heroes or dead men.—The "moſt celebrated deities they had of this ſort "were Cronus, Rhea, Oſiris, Orus, Typhon, "Iſis, and Nepthe; and theſe perſons were ſaid "to be deified upon an opinion that, at their

[y] P. 288. See the firſt vol. of the *Div. Leg.* p. 94, &c.

"deaths,

" deaths, their ſouls migrated into ſome STAR, " and became the animating ſpirit of ſome lumi- " nous and heavenly body: This the Egyptian " prieſts expreſly aſſerted. — Let us now ſee when " the Egyptians firſt conſecrated theſe hero-gods, " or deified mortals. To this I anſwer, Not be- " fore they took notice of the appearances of the " particular *ſtars* which they appropriated to them. " Julius Cæſar was not canonized until the ap- " pearance of the *Julium Sidus*, nor *could the Phe-* " *nicians have any notion* of the divinity of Cro- " nus until they made ſome obſervations of the " *ſtar*, which they imagined he was removed in- " to[z]."

He ſays, *the Egyptian prieſts* EXPRESSLY ASSERTED *that theſe perſons were ſaid to be deified* upon an opinion *that at their death their ſouls migrated into ſome ſtar.* And for this he quotes a paſſage out of Plutarch's tract of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*; which I ſhall give the reader in Plutarch's own words, that he may judge for himſelf. Speaking of the tombs of the Gods, he ſays: *But the prieſts affirm not only of theſe, but of all the other Gods, of that tribe which were not unbegotten nor immortal, that their dead bodies are depoſited amongſt them and preſerved with great care, but that their ſouls illuminate the ſtars in heaven*[a]. All here *aſſerted* is that the Egyptians thought the ſouls of their hero-gods had migrated into ſome ſtar; but not the leaſt intimation that *they were deified upon this*

[z] *Connect.* vol. ii. p. 281, 282, 283.

[a] Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγγένητοι μηδὲ ἄφθαρτοι, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα. pag. 640.

opinion

opinion of their migration. Theſe are two very different things. The opinion of their migration might, for any thing ſaid by Plutarch, be an after ſuperſtition; nay we ſhall make it very probable that it was ſo: for the *Connector* not reſting on this authority, as indeed he had ſmall reaſon, caſts about for ſome plauſible occaſion, how men come to be deified upon ſo ſtrange *an opinion*; and this he makes to be *their* FIRST *notice of the appearance of a particular ſtar.* But how the new appearance of a ſtar ſhould make men ſuppoſe the ſoul of a dead anceſtor was got into it, and ſo become a God, is as hard to conceive as how Tenterden ſteeple ſhould be the cauſe of Goodwin-Sands. Indeed it was natural enough to imagine ſuch an ἐπιφάνεια, when the cultivation of *judicial aſtrology* had aided a growing ſuperſtition to believe that their tutelary God had choſen the convenient reſidence of a culminating ſtar, in order to ſhed his beſt influence on his own race or people. This ſeems to be the truth of the caſe: and this, I believe, was all the egyptian prieſts, in Plutarch, meant to ſay.

But from a *ſufficient cauſe*, this *new appearance* is become (before the concluſion of the paragraph) the *only cauſe* of deification: *Julius Cæſar was not canonized until the appearance of the Julium Sidus: nor* COULD *the Phenicians have any notion of the divinity of Cronus until they made ſome obſervations of the ſtar which they imagined he was removed into.* As to Cæſar's apotheoſis it was a vile imitation of thoſe viler flatteries of Alexander's ſucceſſors in Greece and Egypt; and the julium ſidus an incident of no other conſequence than to ſave his Sycophants from bluſhing. But abandoned Courtiers and proſtitute Senates never wait for the declaration of Heaven: and when the ſlaves of Rome

Rome ſent a ſecond tribe of Monſters to repleniſh the Conſtellations, we find that Auguſtus, Tiberius, Claudius, *&c.* who roſe into Gods as they ſunk below humanity, had no more Stars in their favour than Teague in the Committee. But of all caſes, the Phenicians' ſeems the hardeſt; who with their infinite ſuperſtitions could yet have no notion of Cronus's divinity, 'till they had read his fortune in his Star. I am ſo utterly at a loſs to know what this can mean, that I will only ſay, if the reader cannot ſee how they might come by this notion another way, then, either he has read, or I have written, a great deal to very little purpoſe.

VI. We come now to the laſt cauſe aſſigned by the Ancients for brute-worſhip, as we find it in EUSEBIUS [b]; namely, That it was the invention of a certain king, for his private ends of policy, to eſtabliſh in each city the excluſive worſhip of a different animal, in order to prevent confederacies and combinations againſt his Government. That an egyptian king did in fact contrive ſuch a political inſtitution one may ſafely allow, becauſe, on this very ſuppoſition, it will appear that brute-worſhip had another and prior original. For it is not the way of Politicians to invent new Religions, but to turn thoſe to advantage which they find already in uſe. The cunning, therefore, of this egyptian monarch conſiſted in founding a new inſtitution of *intolerance*, upon an old eſtabliſhed practice in each city of different *animal-worſhip*. But ſuppoſing this king of ſo peculiar a ſtrain of policy that he would needs invent a new Religion; How happened it that he did not employ *hero-worſhip* to this purpoſe (ſo natural a ſuperſtition that it be-

[b] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 284. 2d. edit.

came

came univerſal) rather than the whimſical and monſtrous practice of *brute-worſhip*, not ſymbolical? when direct hero-worſhip would have ſerved his purpoſe ſo much better? Religious zeal for the excluſive honour of a dead citizen being likely to riſe much higher than reverence to a compatriot animal. The only ſolution of the difficulty is this, Brute-worſhip being then the favourite ſuperſtition of the people, the politic monarch choſe that for the foundation of his contrivance. So that we muſt needs conclude, this pretended cauſe to be as defective as the reſt.

Theſe were the reaſons the Greek writers gave for *brute-worſhip* in general. But beſides theſe, they invented a thouſand fanciful cauſes of the worſhip of this or that animal in particular; which it would be to no purpoſe to recount.

On the whole, ſo little ſatisfaction did theſe writers afford to the learned Fourmont (who yet is for making ſomething or other out of every rag of Antiquity, which he can pick up and new-line with an Etymology) that he frankly owns the true original of brute-worſhip is the moſt difficult thing imaginable to find out: *Si on nous demandoit* (ſays he) *de quel droit, tel ou tel dieu, avoit ſous lui tel ou tel animal, pour certain, rien de plus difficile à deviner*[c].

However amidſt this confuſion, the Greeks, we ſee, were modeſt. They fairly gave us their opinions, but forged no hiſtories to ſupport them. The Arabian writers were of another caſt; it was their way to free themſelves from theſe per-

[c] *Reflex. Crit. ſur les hiſtoires des anciens peuples*, liv. ii. § 4.

plexities

plexities by telling a ſtory: Thus Abennephi, being at a loſs to account for the Egyptian worſhip of a fly, invents this formal tale, That the Egyptians being greatly infeſted with theſe inſects, conſulted the oracle, and were anſwered, that they muſt pay them divine honours. *See then,* ſays this dextrous writer, *the reaſon of our finding ſo many on the obeliſks and pyramids.*

But of all the liberties taken with remote Antiquity, ſure nothing ever equalled that of a late french writer, whoſe book, intitled, HISTOIRE DU CIEL, accidentally fell into my hands as this ſheet was going to the preſs. Kircher, bewildered as he was, had yet ſome ground for his rambles. He fairly followed Antiquity: unluckily indeed, for him, it proved the *ignis fatuus* of Antiquity; ſo he was ridiculouſly miſled. However he had enough of that fantaſtic light to ſecure his credit as a fair writer. But here is a man who regards Antiquity no more than if he thought it all imaginary, like his countryman, Hardouin. At leaſt, he tells us in expreſs words, that the ſtudy of the tedious and ſenſeleſs writings of Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and ſuch like, is all labour loſt. The truth is, theſe volatile writers can neither reſt in fact nor fable; but are in letters what Tacitus's Romans were in civil government, who could neither bear a perfect freedom, nor a thorough ſlavery [d]. Only with this additional perverſity, that when the inquiry is after Truth they betray a ſtrange propenſity to Fable; and when Fable is their profeſſed ſubject, they have as untimely an appetite for Truth. Thus, in that

[d] This ſhews why LOCKE is no favourite of our hiſtorian. J'ai lû le TRES-ENNUIEUX traité de LOCKE *ſur l'entendement humain,* &c. Vol. i. p. 387, 388.

philoſophical Romance called *La vie de Sethos*, we find a much juſter account of old Egyptian wiſdom than in all the pretended *Hiſtoire de Ciel.* This Hiſtorian's Syſtem is, that all the civil and religious cuſtoms of Antiquity ſprung up from AGRICULTURE; nay that the very Gods and Goddeſſes themſelves were but a part of this all-bounteous harveſt [e]:

Nec ulla interea eſt inaratæ gratia terræ.

Now the two moſt certain facts in Antiquity are theſe, "That the idolatrous worſhip of the HEAVENLY BODIES aroſe from the viſible influence they have on ſublunary things;" and "That the country-gods of all the civilized nations were DEAD MEN, deified, whoſe benefits to their fellow-citizens, or to mankind at large, had procured them divine honours." Could the reader think either of theſe were likely to be denied by one who ever looked into an ancient book; much leſs by one who pretended to *interpret* Antiquity? But neither Gods nor Men can ſtand before a *ſyſtem.* This great adventurer aſſures us that the whole is a deluſion; that Antiquity knew nothing of the matter; that the *heavenly bodies* were not worſhiped for their influences; that Oſiris, Iſis, Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Mercury, nay their very hero-gods, ſuch as Hercules and Minos, were not *mortal men nor women*; nor indeed any thing but the letters of an ancient alphabet; the mere figures which compoſed the ſymbolic directions to the Egyptian huſbandmen [f]. And yet, after all

[e] See p. 99, 315, & paſſim, vol. i. Ed. *Par.* 1739, 8vo.

[f] This paradox, as we ſay, is advanced in defiance of Antiquity. The *Myſteries*, in their ſecret communications, taught that

all this, he has the modeſty to talk of SYSTEMES BIZARRES;

that ALL THE NATIONAL GODS WERE DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Of this we are aſſured by the expreſs teſtimony of the moſt learned ancients, both gentile and chriſtian; Cicero, Julius Firmicus, Plutarch, Euſebius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, and St. Auſtin. See the firſt vol. of the *Div. Legation.* And will this author pretend to ſay, that the inſtitutors of the *Myſteries* did not know the true original of their national Gods? But we have much more than their bare teſtimony; almoſt every rite in the ancient worſhip of theſe Gods declared them to be DEAD MORTALS: ſuch as the ſolemn mournings and lamentations with which they began their celebrations; the cuſtom of never coming to worſhip empty handed, but with a preſent, as was the eaſtern uſe when they approached their princes; the building ſumptuous houſes for their Gods, and ſetting meat before them for their refreſhment; with a number of other domeſtic uſages, too tedious to dwell upon. Thus the cleareſt facts and moſt creditable teſtimony concur to ſupport this notorious truth; a truth, which they who moſt eagerly defended paganiſm, and they who moſt maliciouſly undermined it; as well the miniſters of the *Myſteries*, as Euhemerus and his followers, equally allowed. On what then is this author's paradox ſupported? On the common foundation of moſt modern philologic ſyſtems, ETYMOLOGIES; which, like fungous excreſcencies, ſpring up from old hebrew roots, mythologically cultivated. To be let into this new method of improving barren ſenſe, we are to underſtand, that in the ancient oriental tongues the few *primitive* words muſt needs bear many different ſignifications; and the numerous *derivatives* be infinitely equivocal. Hence any thing may be made of greek proper names, by turning them to oriental ſounds, ſo as to ſuit every ſyſtem paſt, preſent, and to come. To render this familiar to the reader by example: M. Pluche's ſyſtem is, that the gentile Gods came from *Agriculture:* All he wants then, is to pick out (conſonant to the greek proper names) hebrew words which ſignify a *plow, tillage,* or *ears of corn*; and ſo his buſineſs is done. Another comes, let it be Fourmont, and he brings news, that the Greek Gods were *Moſes* or *Abraham*; and the ſame ductile ſounds produce, from the ſame primitive words, a *chief,* a *leader,* or a *true believer*; and then, to uſe his words, *Nier qu'il s'agiſſe ici du ſeul Abraham, c'eſt être aveugle d'eſprit & d'un aveuglement irremediable.* A third and fourth appear upon the ſcene, ſuppoſe them, Le Clerc and Bannier; who, prompted by the learned Bochart, ſay, that the Greek Gods were only

Phenician

Bizarres[z]; and to place the *Newtonian ſyſtem* in that number. It would be impertinent to aſk this writer,

Phenician voyagers; and then, from the ſame ready ſources, flow *navigation*, *ſhips*, and *negociators*. And when any one is at a loſs in this game of crambo, which can never happen but by being duller than ordinary, the kindred dialects of the Chaldee and Arabic lie always ready to make up their deficiencies. To give an inſtance of all this in the caſe of poor diſtreſſed Osiris, whom hoſtile Critics have driven from his family and friends, and reduced to a mere vagabond upon earth. M. Pluche derives his name from *Ochoſi-erets*, *domaine de la terre*; Mr. Fourmont from *Hoſcheiri*, *habitant de Seir*, the dwelling of Eſau, who is his Oſiris; and Voſſius from *Schicher* or *Sior*, one of the ſcripture names for the Nile. I have heard of an old humouriſt, and a great dealer in etymologies, who boaſted, *That he not only knew whence Words came, but whither they were going*. And indeed, on any ſyſtem-maker's telling me his Scheme, I will undertake to ſhew *whither all his old words are going*: for in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech they cannot be ſaid to be *coming from*, but *going to* ſome old Hebrew root.—There are certain follies (of which this ſeems to be in the number) whoſe ridicule ſtrikes ſo ſtrongly, that it is felt even by thoſe who are moſt ſubject to commit them. Who that has read M. Huet's *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, would have expected to ſee him ſatiriſe, with ſo much ſpirit, the very nonſenſe with which his own learned book abounds. Le veritable uſage de la connoiſſance des langues étant perdu, l'abus y a ſuccédé. On s'en eſt ſervi pour etymologiser — on veut trouver dans l'Hebreu et ſes dialectes la ſource de tous les mots et de toutes les langues, pour barbares et étranges qu' elles puiſſent être — Se preſente-t-il un nom de quelque Roi d'Ecoſſe ou de Norvége, on ſe met aux champs avec ſes conjectures; on en va chercher l'origine dans la Paleſtine. A-t-on de la peine à l'y rencontrer? On paſſe en Babylone. Ne s'y trouve-il point, l'Arabie n'eſt pas loin: et en un beſoin même on pouſſeroit juſqu' en Ethiopie, plutot que de ſe trouver court d' etymologies: et l'on bat tant de païs qu'il eſt impoſſible enfin qu'on ne trouve un mot qui ait quelque convenance de lettres et de ſon avec celui, dont on cherche l'origine. — Par cet art on trouve dans l' Hebreu ou ſes dialectes, l'origine des noms du Roi Artur et tous les Chevaliers de la Table ronde; de Charlemagne, et des douze pairs de France; et même en un beſoin de tous les Yncas du Perou. Par cet art, un Allemand que j'ai connu, provoit que

[z] See p. 122. of his *Reviſion de l'hiſtoire du Ciel.*

Priam

writer, where was his regard to Antiquity or to Truth, when we ſee he has ſo little for the public, as to be wanting even in that mere reſpect due to every reader of common apprehenſion? and yet this *Syſtem*, begot by a delirious imagination on the dream of a lethargic pedant, is to be called *interpreting Antiquity* [h]. However, as it is a work of entertainment, where AGRICULTURE has the top part in the piece, and Antiquity is brought in only to decorate the ſcene, it ſhould, methinks, be made as perfect as poſſible. Would it not therefore be a conſiderable improvement to it, if inſtead of ſaying the Egyptian huſbandmen found their gods in the ſymbolic directions for their labour, the ingenious author would ſuppoſe that they turned them up alive as they ploughed their furrows, juſt as the Etruſcans found their god Tages [i]: This would give his piece the *marvelous*, ſo neceſſary in works

Priam avoit été le même qu' Abraham; et Æneas le même que Jonas. — *Lettre au Bochart.* On ſuch ſubjects as theſe, however, this trifling can do no great harm. But when, by a ſtrange fatality of the times, it is transferred from matters of profane Antiquity, to ſuch important queſtions as the redemption of mankind, and faith in the Meſſiah, we are ready to execrate a Caballiſtic madneſs which expoſes our holy religion to the ſcorn and deriſion of every unbeliever, whoſe bad principles have not yet deprived him of all remains of common ſenſe.

[h] S'il y a même quelque choſe de ſolide & de ſuivi dans l'hiſtoire que je vais donner de l'origine du ciel poetique, j'avoue que j'en ſuis redevable à l'explication ingénieuſe, mais ſimple, par laquelle l'auteur des ſaturnelles [*Macrob. Saturn.* lib. i. cap. 17.] nous a éclairci l'origine du nom des ces deux ſignes. *Hiſt. du ciel.* vol. i. c. 1.

[i] *Tages* quidam dicitur in agro Tarquinienſi, cum terra araretur & ſulcus altius eſſet impreſſus, extitiſſe repente, & eum adfatus eſſe qui arabat. Is autem *Tages*, ut in libris eſt Etruſcorum, puerili ſpecie dicitur viſus, ſed ſenili ſuiſſe prudentia, &c. *Cic. de Div.* lib. ii. cap. 23.

of this nature, corrected too by the probable, that is, ſome kind of ſupport from Antiquity, which it now totally wants. Beſides, the moiſt glebe of Egypt, we know, when impregnated with a warm Sun, was of old famed for hatching men [k] and monſters.

To return. From what hath been laſt ſaid, we conclude, That the true original of *brute-worſhip* was the uſe of *ſymbolic writing*: and, conſequently, that Symbols were extreme ancient; for brute-worſhip was national in the days of MOSES. But Symbols were invented for the repoſitory of egyptian wiſdom; therefore the Egyptians were very learned even from thoſe early times: The point to be proved.

And now, had this long diſcourſe on the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* done nothing but afford me this auxiliary proof, which my argument does not want, I ſhould certainly have made it ſhorter. But it is of much uſe beſides, for attaining a true idea of the EASTERN ELOCUTION, (whoſe genius is greatly influenced by this kind of writing) and is therefore, I preſume, no improper introduction to the preſent volume, whoſe ſubject is the religion and civil policy of the Hebrews. The excellent Mr. Mede pointed to this uſe: and the learned Mr. Daubuz endeavoured to proſecute his hint, at large; but falling into the viſions of Kircher, he fruſtrated much of that ſervice, which the application of hieroglyphic learning to ſcripture language would otherwiſe have afforded.

[k] Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ΤΕΚΕ δὲ ζείδωρος ΑΡΟΥΡΑ.
Il. ii. ver. 547.

A far-

A farther advantage may be derived from this long diſcourſe: it may open our way to the true Egyptian Wiſdom; which by reaſon of the general miſtakes concerning the origin, uſe, and diſtinct ſpecies of Hieroglyphic writing, hath been hitherto ſtopped up. The ſubject now lies ready for any diligent enquirer; and to ſuch an one, whoſe greater advantages of ſituation, learning, and abilities may make him more deſerving of the public regard, I leave it to be purſued.

But whatever help this may afford us towards a better acquaintance with the ancient *Egyptian* Wiſdom, yet, what is a greater advantage, it will very much aſſiſt us in the ſtudy of the *Grecian*; and, after ſo many inſtances given of this uſe, one might almoſt venture to recommend theſe two grand vehicles of Egyptian learning and religion, the MYSTERIES treated of in the former volume, and the HIEROGLYPHICS in the preſent, as the cardinal points on which the interpretation of GREEK ANTIQUITY ſhould from henceforth turn.

SECT. V.

THE courſe of my argument now brings me to examine a new hypotheſis againſt the high antiquity of Egypt, which hath the incomparable Sir ISAAC NEWTON for its Patron: A man, for whoſe fame Science and Virtue ſeemed to be at ſtrife. The prodigious diſcoveries he had made in the *natural* world, and eſpecially that ſuperiority of genius which opened the way to thoſe diſcoveries, hath induced ſome of his countrymen to think him as intimate with the *moral*; and even to believe with a late ingenious commentator on his Optics, that as every thing which Midas touched, turned to gold,

ſo all that Newton handled, turned to demonſtration.

But the ſublimeſt underſtanding has it bounds, and, what is more to be lamented, the ſtrongeſt mind has it foible. And this miracle of ſcience, who diſcloſed all nature to our view, when he came to correct old time, in the chronology of Egypt, ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced, by little lying greek mythologiſts and ſtory tellers, from the *Goſhen* of Moses, into the thickeſt of the Egyptian darkneſs. So peſtilent a miſchief in the road to Truth is a favourite hypotheſis: an evil, we have frequent occaſion to lament, as it retards the progreſs of our enquiry at almoſt every ſtep. For it is to be obſerved, that Sir Iſaac's *Egyptian* chronology was faſhioned only to ſupport his *Grecian*; which he erected on one of thoſe ſublime conceptions peculiar to his amazing genius.

But it is not for the ſake of any private Syſtem that I take upon me to conſider the arguments of this illuſtrious man. The truth is, his diſcourſe of *the empire of Egypt* contradicts every thing which Moses and the Prophets have delivered concerning theſe ancient people. Though ſome therefore of his admirers may ſeem to think that no more harm can derive to religion by his contradicting the *Hiſtory*, than by his overturning the *Aſtronomy*, of the Bible, yet I am of a different opinion; becauſe, though the end of the ſacred hiſtory was certainly not to inſtruct us in Aſtronomy, yet it was, without queſtion, written to inform us of the various fortunes of the People of God; with whom, the hiſtory of Egypt was cloſely connected. I ſuſpect therefore, that the eſpouſing this hypotheſis may be attended with very bad conſequences in

our

our diſputes with Infidelity. The preſent turn, indeed, of Free-thinking is to extol the high antiquity of Egypt, as an advantage to their cauſe; and conſequently to urge Scripture, which bears full evidence to that antiquity, as a faithful relater of ancient facts; yet theſe advantages being chimerical, as ſoon as they are underſtood to be ſo, we ſhall ſee the contrary notion, of the low antiquity of Egypt, become the faſhionable doctrine; and, what all good men will be ſorry to find, the great name of NEWTON ſet againſt the BIBLE.

It is therefore, as I ſay, for the ſake of Scripture, and from no fooliſh fondneſs for any private opinion, that I take upon me to examine the ſyſtem of this incomparable perſon.

His whole argument for the low antiquity of Egypt may be ſummed up in this ſyllogiſm:

OSIRIS advanced Egypt from a ſtate of barbarity to civil policy.

OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were the ſame.

Therefore EGYPT was advanced from a ſtate of barbarity to civil policy in the time of SESOSTRIS.

And to fix the time of Seſoſtris with preciſion, he endeavours to prove him to be the ſame with SESAC. But this latter identity not all affecting the preſent queſtion, I ſhall have no occaſion to conſider it.

Now the *minor* in this ſyllogiſm being the queſtionable term, he has employed his whole diſ-

courſe in its ſupport. All then I have to do, is to ſhew that Osiris and Sesostris were not one, but two perſons, living in very diſtant ages.

And that none of the favourers of this ſyſtem may have any pretence to ſay, that the great Author's reaſonings are not fairly drawn out and enforced, I ſhall tranſcribe them juſt as I find them collected, methodized, and preſented under one view by his learned and ingenious Apologiſt: — "He "[Sir Iſaac Newton] has found it more eaſy to "lower the pretenſions of the Ancients than to "conquer the prejudices of the Moderns. Many "of his opinions, that are in truth well founded, "paſs for dreams, and in particular his arguments "for ſettling the time of Seſoſtris, which the "Greeks never knew, have been anſwered with "ſcurrility.——I ſhall lay together here the evi-"dences that have convinced me of the truth of "his concluſion, becauſe he has not any where col-"lected all of them.

"1. That Oſiris and Bacchus were the ſame, "was generally agreed by the Greeks and Egyp-"tians, and is therefore out of queſtion; and that "the great actions related of Seſoſtris are true of "Seſac, and the difference between them is only "nominal, is affirmed by Joſephus.

"2. Oſiris and Seſoſtris were both egyptian "kings who conquered Ethiopia; and yet there "never was but one egyptian king that was maſ-"ter of Ethiopia.

"3. Both were egyptian kings that with a pro-"digious army and fleet invaded and ſubdued all "Aſia

" Aſia northward as far as Tanais, and eaſtward as " far as the Indian ocean.

" 4. Both ſet up pillars in all their conqueſts, " ſignifying what ſort of reſiſtance the inhabitants " had made. Paleſtine, in particular, appears to " have made little or none, to them.

" 5. Both paſt over the Helleſpont into Europe, " met with ſtrong oppoſition in Thrace, and were " there in great hazard of loſing their army.

" 6. Both had with them in their expeditions a " great number of foſter brothers, who had been " all born on the ſame day, and bred up with " them.

" 7. Both built or exceedingly embelliſhed " Thebes in upper Egypt.

" 8. Both changed the face of all Egypt, and " from an open country made it impracticable for " cavalry, by cutting navigable canals from the " Nile to all the cities.

" 9. Both were in the utmoſt danger by the " conſpiracy of a brother.

" 10. Both made triumphant entries in chariots, " of which Oſiris's is poetically repreſented to be " drawn by tigers; Seſoſtris's hiſtorically ſaid to " be drawn by captive kings.

" 11. Both reigned about twenty eight or thirty " years.

" 12. Both had but one ſucceſſor of their own " blood.

" 13. Bacchus or Oſiris was two generations be-
" fore the Trojan war: Seſoſtris was two reigns
" before it. Again, Seſac's invaſion in Judæa in
" an. P. J. 3743, was about two hundred ſixty
" years before the invaſion of Egypt in his ſucceſ-
" ſor Sethon's time by Sennacherib; and from Se-
" ſoſtris to Sethon incluſively there are ten reigns,
" according to Herodotus, which, if twenty ſix
" years be allowed to a reign, make likewiſe two
" hundred and ſixty years.

" In ſo diſtant ages and countries it is not poſ-
" ſible that any king, with many names, can be
" more clearly demonſtrated to be one and the
" ſame perſon than all theſe circumſtances and ac-
" tions together do prove that Oſiris and Bacchus,
" Seſoſtris and Seſac are but ſo many appellations
" of the ſame man: which being eſtabliſhed, it
" will evidently follow, that the Argonautic expe-
" dition, the deſtruction of Troy, the revolution
" in Peloponneſus made by the Heraclidæ, &c.
" were in or very near the times in which Sir Iſaac
" has ranged them[1]."

I. Before I proceed to an examination of theſe reaſonings, it will be proper to premiſe ſomething concerning the nature of the ſyſtem, and the quality of the evidence.

1. We are to obſerve then, that this ſyſtem is ſo far from ſerving for a ſupport or illuſtration of the ancient ſtory of theſe two heroes, that it contradicts and ſubverts all that is clear and certain in Antiquity; and adds new confuſion to all that was

[1] Mr. *Mann's* ded. to his tract *of the true Years of the Birth and Death of* Christ.

obſcure.

obſcure. The annals of Egypt, as may be ſeen by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, and others, who all copied from thoſe annals, were as expreſs and unvariable for the real diverſity, the diſtinct perſonality of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, as the hiſtory of England is for that of any two of its own country Monarchs. For they were not vague names, of uncertain or adjoining times; one was the moſt illuſtrious of their DEMI-GODS, and the other of their KINGS; both fixed in their proper æras; and thoſe vaſtly diſtant from one another. So that, I make no queſtion, it had appeared as great a paradox, to an old Egyptian, to hear it affirmed that Oſiris and Seſoſtris were but one, as it would be now to an Engliſhman to be told that Bonduca and the empreſs Matilda were the ſame. All Antiquity acquieſced in their diverſity; nor did the moſt paradoxical writer, with which latter Greece was well ſtored, ever venture to contradict ſo well eſtabliſhed a truth. And what wonder? The hiſtory of Egypt was not, like that of ancient Greece or Suevia, only to be picked up out of the traditional tales of Bards and Mythologiſts: nor yet, like that of early Britain, the invention of ſedentary monks: It conſiſted of the written and authentic records of a learned and active Prieſthood. In which, the only tranſgreſſion, yet diſcovered, againſt truth, is that natural partiality common to all national hiſtoriographers, of extending back their annals to an unreaſonable length of time. Let me add, that the diſtinct perſonality of theſe two men is ſo far from contradicting any other ancient hiſtory, that it entirely coincides with them. Nay, what is the ſureſt mark of hiſtoric truth, there is, as perhaps we may take occaſion to ſhew, very ſtrong collateral evidence to evince the real diverſity of

theſe two ancient chiefs.—So far, as to the nature of the ſyſtem,

2. The quality of the evidence is another legitimate prejudice againſt this *new chronology*. It is chiefly the fabulous hiſtory of Greece, as delivered by their Poets and Mythologiſts. This hath afforded a plauſible ſupport to Sir Iſaac's hypotheſis; by ſupplying him, in its genealogies of the Gods and Heroes, with a number of ſynchroniſms to aſcertain the identity in queſtion. And yet, who has not heard of the deſperate confuſion in which the chronology of ancient Greece lies involved? Of all the prodigies of falſhood in its mythologic ſtory, nothing being ſo monſtrous as its diſmembred and ill-joined parts of Time. Notwithſtanding this confuſion, his proofs from their ſtory, conſiſting only of ſcraps, picked up promiſcuouſly from Mythologiſts, Poets, Scholiaſts, &c. are argued from with ſo little heſitation, that a ſtranger would be apt to think the Fabulous ages were as well diſtinguiſhed as thoſe marked by the Olympiads. But the ſlender force of this evidence is ſtill more weakened by this other circumſtance, that almoſt all the paſſages brought from mythology to evince the *identity*, are contradicted (tho' the excellent perſon has not thought fit to take notice of it) by a vaſt number of other paſſages in the ſame mythology; nay even in the ſame authors; and entirely overthrown by writers of greater credit; the HISTORIANS of Greece and Egypt: which however, are the other part of Sir Iſaac's evidence; of weight indeed to be attentively heard. But this he will not do; but, from their having given to Oſiris and Seſoſtris the like actions, concludes the Actors to be one and the ſame, againſt all that thoſe Hiſtorians themſelves can ſay to the contrary: Yet what they

they *might*, and what they *could not* miſtake in, was methinks eaſy enough to be diſtinguiſhed. For as Fable unnaturally joins together later and former times; and ancient fable had increaſed that confuſion, for reaſons to be hereafter given: ſo Hiſtory muſt needs abound with ſimilar characters of men in public ſtations; and ancient hiſtory had greatly improved that likeneſs, thro' miſtakes hereafter likewiſe to be accounted for. Indeed, were there no more remaining of Antiquity concerning Bacchus, Oſiris, and Seſoſtris than what we find in Sir Iſaac's book, we might perhaps be induced to believe them the Same; but as things ſtand in Hiſtory, this can never be ſuppoſed.

What I would infer therefore, from theſe obſervations, is this:—We have, in the diſtinct perſonality of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, an hiſtorical circumſtance, delivered in the moſt authentic and unvariable manner, and by annaliſts of the beſt authority. All ſucceeding ages agreed in their diverſity; and it is ſupported by very ſtrong collateral evidence. At length a modern writer, of great name, thinks fit to bring the whole in queſtion. And how does he proceed? Not by accounting for the riſe and progreſs of what he muſt needs eſteem the moſt inveterate error that ever was: but by laying together a number of circumſtances, from ancient ſtory, to prove the actions of Oſiris and Seſoſtris to be greatly alike; and a number of circumſtances from ancient fable, to prove that the Gods, whom he ſuppoſes to be the ſame with Oſiris, were about the age of Seſoſtris. So that all the evidence brought by this illuſtrious writer amounting, at moſt, but to difficulties againſt the beſt eſtabliſhed fact of hiſtory; if we can, conſiſtently with the diſtinct perſonality and different ages of theſe two heroes, fairly

fairly account for the ſimilar actions recorded of them; and for the low age, as delivered by the mythologiſts, of thoſe grecian Gods which are ſuppoſed to be the egyptian Oſiris; if, I ſay, this can be done, the reader is deſired to obſerve, that all is done that can reaſonably be required for the confutation of Sir Iſaac Newton's hypotheſis, and for reinſtating the ancient hiſtory of their diſtinct perſonality in its former credit.

But I ſhall do more; 1. I ſhall ſhew from the religious conſtitutions of Greece and Egypt, that the incidental errors which the Ancients fell into, concerning theſe two heroes, (of which errors our author has taken the advantage, to run them into one) were ſuch as hardly any circumſpection could avoid.

2. And ſtill further, that the identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, in its neceſſary conſequences, contradicts SCRIPTURE, and the NATURE OF THINGS.

II. I proceed then to a particular examination of this famous proof of the identity, as it is collected and digeſted by the learned Maſter of the Charter-houſe.

The firſt obſervation I ſhall make upon it is, that, by the ſame way of arguing, one might incorporate almoſt any two HEROES, one meets with, in early and remote hiſtory. For as our great engliſh poet well obſerves,

" HEROES ARE MUCH THE SAME, the point's agreed,
" From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;

" The

" The whole ſtrange purpoſe of their lives, to find,
" Or make an enemy of all mankind.

To ſhew the reader how eaſily this feat may be performed, I will take any two of our own Monarchs, that come firſt into my thoughts,—KING ARTHUR, for inſtance, and WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. And now let him only imagine, when arts and empire have learnt to travel further Weſt, and have left Great Britain in the preſent condition of Egypt, ſome future Chronologer of America, labouring to prove theſe Heroes one and the ſame, only under two different names, by ſuch kind of Arguments as this:

1. ARTHUR and WILLIAM were both great warriors.

2. Both were of ſpurious or uncertain birth.

3. Both were in the management of public affairs in their early youth.

4. Both came from France to recover Britain from the Saxons.

5. Both proved victorious in their expedition.

6. Both got the crown of Britain by election, and not by deſcent.

7. Both had other dominions, beſides Britain, to which they ſucceeded by right hereditary.

8. Both went frequently on military expeditions into France.

9. Both

9. Both warred there with various ſucceſs.

10. Both had half brothers, by the mother, who, being made very powerful, and proving guilty of manifold extortions and acts of injuſtice, were puniſhed by them, in an exemplary manner.

11. Both had rebellious ſons or nephews, whom they met in the field, fought with in perſon, and ſubdued.

12. Both reigned upwards of fifty years.

13. And both died in War.

When our Chronologer had been thus ſucceſsful with his argument from ſimilar circumſtances, (as in the caſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris) it is odds but he would go on; and to ſettle a chronology which made for ſome other hypotheſis he had in view, he would next attempt to prove, from *ſimilitude of names*, as before from *ſimilitude of actions*, that WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR and WILLIAM THE THIRD, another Conqueror, were but one and the ſame, (as in the caſe of Seſoſtris and Seſac.)

Here the number of ſimilar circumſtances, in the lives of Arthur and William, are, evidently, more characteriſtic of ONE, then thoſe in the hiſtory of Oſiris and Seſoſtris. Yet we know that Arthur and William were really two different men of two very diſtant ages. This will ſhew the critics the true value of this kind of evidence; and ſhould reaſonably diſpoſe them to much caution in building upon it.

II.

II.

But it will be ſaid, that the nature of the conformity between Oſiris and Seſoſtris is, in ſome reſpects, very different from that between Arthur and William. I grant it is ſo; and, from thoſe reſpects, ſhall now ſhew, how the miſtaken indentity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris may be certainly detected. For I go on, and ſay, though from this inſtance it be ſeen, that a greater agreement might well happen in the lives of two ancient Heroes, than can be found in thoſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, while their diſtinct perſonality was acknowleged to be very certain and real; yet, in their caſe, it muſt be owned, that there are peculiar and ſpecific circumſtances of ſimilitude, which could not ariſe from that general conformity between the actions of two men of the ſame quality and character; but muſt be allowed to have had their birth from ſome fancied identity. For ſeveral of the actions, given to both, agree only to the time of one: I mean as Antiquity hath fixed their times. Thus, the vaſt conqueſts over Aſia agree well with the time of Seſoſtris, but very ill with the time of Oſiris: and, again, the invention of the moſt common arts of life, agree very well with the time of Oſiris, but very ill with that of Seſoſtris. However, from this conformity in their ſtory, Sir Iſaac concludes Oſiris and Seſoſtris to be the ſame. And ſo far we muſt needs confeſs, that it ſeems to have ariſen from ſome kind of identity; a ſameneſs of perſon, or a ſameneſs of name. This great writer contends for the firſt; but as the firſt contradicts and ſubverts all Antiquity, if the aſcribed conformity of actions can be well accounted for from their *identity of name*, and that indentity be proved very probable from ancient ſtory, the reader will conclude that the

the fabulous conformity had its riſe from thence; and, conſequently, that all Sir Iſaac's arguments for their *identity of perſon* make directly againſt him. For if the conformity aroſe from *identity of name*, they were two perſons. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew all this in as few words as I am able.

I. It was an old Egyptian cuſtom, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, to call their later Heroes by the name of their earlier Gods. This hiſtorian having ſpoken of the CELESTIAL Gods, according to the Egyptians, adds, *They held, that beſides theſe, there were other* EARTHLY *Gods, born mortal; who, through their wiſdom, and common benefits to mankind, had acquired immortality; that ſome of theſe had been kings of Egypt; and that part got* NEW NAMES, *being called after thoſe of the celeſtial Gods; and part kept their own* [m]. But this cuſtom of calling the later Heroes after the names of their earlier Gods, was not peculiar to Egypt. Scripture informs us, that the Aſſyrians did the ſame. And the practice muſt needs have been general. For, as we have ſhewn, the original uſe of it was to ſupport naſcent hero-worſhip [n]. But there was another cauſe, more peculiar to early Egypt; and that was the doctrine of *tranſmigration*. For it being thought that the ſame ſoul paſſed ſucceſſively into many human bodies; when they ſaw an eminent Character ſtrongly reſembling ſome ancient Hero, they were inclined to fancy it the old

[m] —Ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρξαι μὲν θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετυχηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι καθ' ἃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, τινὰς δ' ἰδίαν ἰσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν—l. i. p. 8. *Steph. ed.*

[n] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. b. iii. ſ. 6.

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buſy ſoul, which had taken up its reſidence in a new habitation: and therefore very equitably honoured the preſent Hero with the *name* of the paſt. This reaſon, Tacitus tells us, the Egyptians gave for the great number of HERCULES's — "*Quem* "[*Herculem*] *indigenæ* [*Ægyptii*] *ortum apud ſe &* "*antiquiſſimum perhibent, eoſque qui poſtea* pari vir- "tute *fuerint, in* cognomentum *ejus adſcitos*[o]." This was ſo notorious that Sir Iſaac could not help owning, it was their way to give one common name to ſeveral men. Nay even the leaſt corporeal reſemblance was ſometimes ſufficient to ſet this ſuperſtition on work, and produce the effect in queſtion; as we find from the ſame Diodorus's account of the Grecian Bacchus. He tells us, that when Cadmus the Egyptian was come into Greece, and his daughter Semele had a ſpurious ſon dying in his infancy, whoſe perſon reſembled the images of Oſiris, the grandfather, after having conſulted the Oracle, (whoſe approbation was contained in the advice, *to obſerve the cuſtoms of his fathers*) called him Bacchus, one of the names of Oſiris; paid divine honours to the embalmed carcaſe; and proclaimed abroad, that OSIRIS had choſen to come once more amongſt men under this infantine appearance[p]. From this cuſtom of giving the names

[o] *Annal.* l. ii. c. 60. — Omnes, qui fecerant fortiter, HERCULES vocabantur, ſays Varro likewiſe (as quoted by Servius.)

[p] Κάδμον ἐκ Θηβῶν ὅλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, γεννῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλην· ταύτην δὲ ὑπὸ τῆ δήπολε φθαρείσαν, ἴσχυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἐπὶ μησὶν διελθόσιν βρέφος τὴν ὄψιν οἷόν περ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ὄσιριν γεγονέναι νομίζεσι· ζωογονεῖσθαι δ' ἐκ εἰωθέναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἴτε τῶν θεῶν μὴ βελομένων, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγκωρέσης. Κάδμον δὲ αἰσθόμενον τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ χρησμὸν ἔχοντα διαλιπεῖν τὰ τῶν παλαίων νόμιμα χρυσώσασθαί τε τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας, ὡς ἐπιφανείας τινὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπες Ὀσίριδος γεγενημένης. lib. i. p. 14.

of celebrated perſonages of high antiquity to later men, who reſembled them in qualities either of mind or body, it was, that they not only, out of honour to Seſoſtris, called him Oſiris, but, out of contempt and hatred, gave Moses the name of Typhon, as appears from ſome later accounts of this Typhon, when they had now jumbled Moſes and him into one; as they had done their Bacchus's, Herculus's, and Minos's; and as they were very near doing, by Oſiris and Seſoſtris. The accounts, I mean, are thoſe which we find in Plutarch, of Typhon's flying ſeven days, and begetting, after his eſcape, two ſons, Jerusalem and Judæus[q]. And further that this Typhon was the ſon of Iſaac, and of the race of Hercules[r].

Cauſes like theſe could not fail to make this cuſtom very durable, amongſt a people not at all given to change. And in fact, we find it continued even to the time of Cleopatra, who affected to be called the new Isis[s], as her brother was called the new Bacchus[t]. At length it became ſo general as to have no meaſure but the fancy of every particular. For Lucian, defending the exceſſive compliments he had given to one Panthea, whoſe form he had compared to the images of the Goddeſſes, juſtifies himſelf by examples; and amongſt the reſt, by that of Egypt; *I ſhall not inſiſt* (ſays he) *upon the practice of the Egyptians, who, though they be the moſt religious of all people, yet*

[q] — ἐπὶ ὅτε τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν φυγὴν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννῆσαι παῖδας Ἱεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαῖον. *Iſ. & Oſir.*

[r] Ἰσαακῷ τῷ Ἡρακλέους ὁ Τυφών.

[s] *Plut. in Ant.* [t] *Diod. Sic.* l. i.

employ

employ the names of their Gods even to ſatiety and diſguſt[u].

To apply this practice to the caſe of the Heroes in queſtion. Oſiris was the great Lawgiver of the Egyptians; and the Founder of their Monarchy. Seſoſtris vaſtly extended and enobled their Empire; and was, at the ſame time, author of many beneficial inſtitutions. Now if ever an occaſion greater than ordinary preſented itſelf, of putting in practice the cuſtom of honouring later Heroes with the name of the more early, it was here, where the reſemblance was ſo remarkably ſtrong. And if what Clemens Alexandrinus ſays be true, that Seſoſtris ſprung from Oſiris [x], there was ſtill a farther occaſion of giving the later Hero the name of his firſt progenitor. However, that it was given him is highly reaſonable to ſuppoſe. And this ſuppoſition will clearly account for all that ingrafted likeneſs from which Sir Iſaac hath inferred their *identity*.

For when now they had given to both, the ſame name; not diſtinguiſhed, as were their Thoths or Hermes's[y], (another famous inſtance of this general cuſtom) by the addition of *firſt* and *ſecond*, Poſterity would frequently confound them with one another; and, in this confuſion, inadvertently

[u] Ἐῶ γὰρ τὰς Αἰγυπτίας, οἵπερ καὶ δισσιδαιμονέσταλοί εἰσι πάλαι, ὅμως τοῖς θείοις ὀνόμασιν εἰς κόρον ἐπιχρωμένας. *Pro Imag. in fin.*

[x] — Τὸν ἐν Ὄσιριν, τὸν πρωπάτορα τὸν αὐτῆ διαδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς [Σέσωστρις] πολυθέλως. *Admon. ad Gentes*, p. 31.

[y] The hiſtories of the firſt and ſecond Hermes are as much confounded with one another as thoſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris; and from the ſame cauſe; yet, I imagine, the diſtinction of *firſt* and *ſecond* will hinder any one from ſuppoſing them to be the ſame.

give the actions of Osiris to Sesostris, and of Sesostris to Osiris. But taking nothing from either, both their histories would soon become the same. And as, in this mutual transferring of one another's actions, several were given to both, entirely discordant to either's age, we are enabled to discover the true cause of this conformity; and thereby to prove, that that, which it is plainly seen might be, really was, the *cause*.

I. Thus Osiris (because Sesostris was so) is made a great conqueror, at a time when Egypt was but just emerging from a state of barbarism, into civil policy; and long before several of those nations, he was said to conquer, had a being. But this seems to be one of the latest corruptions in their history. Herodotus giving none of these conquests to Osiris, but to Sesostris only: whence I collect, it was the product of some age between him and Diodorus Siculus, who gives them to Osiris with all their circumstances, and supported by the evidence of pretended ancient monuments[a]. It appears too, to have been a Grecian addition, and at a time when it was the fashion to make their fables, systematical[a]. For we are told[b], (and the tale was

[a] The columns at Nysa in Arabia.

[a] Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εὐφυΐᾳ πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πλεῖστα ἐξεδιώσαντο, καὶ τοῖς προκοσμήμασι ποικίλως ἐξεπραγῴδησαν, ταῖς τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς, θέλγειν ἐπινοοῦντες παντοίως ἐποίκιλλον. *Philo. Bib. apud Euseb. Praep. Evang.* l. i. c. 10.

[b] — Τὸν δ' οὖν Ὄσιριν φασὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστήσαντα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἴσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαταστῆσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ἑρμῆν, — καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἀπολιπεῖν ἅπασης τῆς ὑφ' αὐτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα — ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ τάξαι τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκῃ κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βούσιριν — εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὄσιριν φιλογέλωτα, καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χορεῖς

was apparently framed for no other end than to connect this God with the reſt of the College) that, when Oſiris made this expedition, he took Silenus with him as his Governor; that he appointed Iſis, Queen-regent in his abſence; and Hermes her Privy-counſellor; Hercules he made General of his army, and Neptune, admiral of his fleet. And, that nothing might be wanting to compleat the cortege, he took with him a company of dancers and ſingers; amongſt which were nine lively girls more particularly eminent; with the king's brother, as maſter of the maids, at their head; and theſe truly were to paſs for Apollo and the nine Muſes. This quaint improvement on an Egyptian blunder, by ſome driveling greek mythologiſt [c], as rank as it is, is one of the chief circumſtances on which our illuſtrious author hath thought fit to ſupport his *Chronology*. And that which is the mere repreſentation of an old raree-ſhew of the *Court of king Oſiris*, brought by ſome ſtroler out of Egypt into Greece, is made an authentic record to aſcertain the true age of all their Heroes. I am fully ſupported in the conjecture, that the tale of Oſiris's conqueſts was invented in ſome age between Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, by the teſtimony of two of the ſobereſt and moſt accurate of the Greek writers, Strabo and Arrian; who expreſsly tell us, that the ſtories of Bacchus's and Hercules's exploits in the Indies were invented

ροῖς. διὸ καὶ περιάγεσθαι πλῆθος μουσοργῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐνίας δυναμένας ᾄδειν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομαζομένας Μούσας, τούτων δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ἀφ' ἑ καὶ Μουσηγέτην αὐτὸν ὀνομᾶσθαι. l. i. p. 10, 11.

[c] The very learned Caſaubon, ſpeaking of the fables, which concern Bacchus with the Nymphs and Muſes, ſays, *Eſt enim Græcanicæ vanitatis hoc quoque inventum, Bacchicas in majus ſemper attollentium.* De Satyrica Poeſi, p. 41.

by the Macedonians to aggrandize the glory of Alexander[d]. The Egyptians had prepared the materials and made them fit for uſe, by confounding Oſiris and Seſoſtris, under the common name of Bacchus.

2. On the other hand, Seſoſtris (becauſe Oſiris was ſo) is made the inventor of arts, and the civilizer of a rude and barbarous people, to whom he delivered the firſt rudiments of policy and Religion, many ages after they had erected a flouriſhing and powerful Empire. An inconſiſtence ſo glaring, that the ancient critics ſeeing theſe things recorded of Seſoſtris, reaſonably underſtood Oſiris to be meant. This doubtleſs made Ariſtotle ſay [e] that Seſoſtris was many ages before Minos: yet Euſebius places Minos in the times of the *Judges*. And in the twelfth dynaſty of Africanus, Seſoſtris is made to reign, according to the calculation of Scaliger[f], in the 1392 year of the Julian period; that very point of time on which the extravagant chronology of Egypt had thrown Oſiris. But there is a paſſage in Ælian which proves ſtill more expreſly that the Ancients ſometimes underſtood Oſiris by Seſoſtris. *The Egyptians* (ſays this hiſtorian) *affirm that Mercury taught Seſoſtris his laws*[g]: and that Mercury the

[d] Arrian, l. v. c. 3. Strabo, l. ii. p. 771. and l. xv. p. 1006—7. Caſaub. ed. Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέους δὲ καὶ Διονύσου, Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων πίστα ἡγεῖται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πολλοὺς, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης. ἄπιστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. *Strab.* l. xv.

[e] Πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασίλειαν ἡ Σεσώστρεως. *Pol.* l. vii. c. 10.

[f] *Vide Marſham Can. Chron. Secul.* X. *tit.* Nilus Rex.

[g] Φασὶν Αἰγύπτιοι Σέσωστριν παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμαθεῖν. *Var. Hiſt.* l. xii. c. 4.

con-

contemporary of Oſiris was here meant, is ſeen by another paſſage of this hiſtorian, where the ſame thing is ſaid of all the Egyptians in general. *The Egyptians boaſt that* MERCURY *taught them their laws*[h].

But though miſtake gave birth to this corruption in the Egyptian hiſtory, yet, without doubt, it was a national vanity which ſupported it. For we are told by Diodorus[i], who made collections from their hiſtory, that the reaſon, aſſigned by the Egyptians for that famous military expedition, which they had transferred from Seſoſtris to Oſiris, was the Hero's beneficent purpoſe of carrying the new inventions of corn and wine to all the ſavage inhabitants of the earth; whom it was his purpoſe to reduce from a ſtate of Nature, to Political ſociety. The intelligent reader ſees plainly, that the deſign of this ſtory was to do honour to Egypt, as the common benefactreſs of mankind. Though I will not deny, that the extravagance of the conceit, at the ſame time, ſhews how much they were at a loſs for a reaſonable cauſe of ſo early an expedition. The difficulty of all this did not eſcape the Sicilian. He frankly owns, there is a vaſt diſcordancy and confuſion in the accounts of Iſis and Oſiris[k]. What ſeems ſtrange to me is, that this did not lead him to the cauſe here explained, when

[h] Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ παρ' Ἑρμῆ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμεμαθῆναι. lib. xiv. c. 34.

[i] Τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συνήγασθαι, διανοούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ διδάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τήν τε τῆς ἀμπέλου φύλειαν καὶ τὸν σπόρον τῆ τε πυρίνῃ καὶ κριθίνῃ καρπῷ. l. i. p. 10.

[k] Καθόλου δὲ πολλή τις ἐστὶ διαφωνία περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. l. i. p. 15.

he had ſo well unraveled the like confuſion in the parallel caſe of Hercules and Alcæus. Their ſtory had been diſordered, like this of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, from Alcæus's taking the name of Hercules. But Diodorus, by the ſame kind of reaſoning[1] I have here employed to aſcertain the diverſity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, ſhews that Alcæus and Hercules were different men; namely, from actions, given to Alcæus, which could not belong to his age. But theſe being of different nations, the one a Greek, the other an Egyptian; this circumſtance afforded him an opening which he wanted in the caſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, who were both Egyptians.

And here let me obſerve, that this ancient practice of calling later heroes by the name of earlier, whether of their own or of foreign countries, brought ſtill greater confuſion into ſome other of their hiſtories; making the Ancients themſelves imagine an *identity* where none was; as in Bacchus,

[1] Ὁμολογουμένου γὰρ ὄντος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι τοῖς ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡρακλῆς συνηγωνίσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας πόλεμον, φασὶ τῇ γῇ μηδαμῶς ἁρμόττειν γεγεννηκέναι τοὺς γίγαντας κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ἢν οἱ Ἕλληνές φασιν Ἡρακλέα γενέσθαι. γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπ' ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτη καταριθμεῖσθαι πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐλάττω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. ὁμοίως δὲ τό, τε ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν Ἡρακλεῖ, διὰ τὸ τατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μήπω τῶν ὅπλων εὑρημένων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς μὲν ξύλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους, ταῖς δὲ δοραῖς τῶν θηρίων σκεπαστηρίοις χρῆσθαι — συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένην φήμην, ὅτι καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς. ὅπερ μηδαμῶς ἁρμόττειν τῷ γεγονότι σχεδὸν κατὰ τοὺς Τρωϊκοὺς χρόνους, ὅτε τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξημέρωτο γεωργίαις καὶ πόλεσι, καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν χώραν πανταχοῦ. μᾶλλον οὖν πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους τὴν ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας, κατισχυομένων ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θηρίων καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔρημον οὖσαν καὶ θηριώδη. lib. i. p. 14, 15.

Neptune,

Neptune, Hercules, Mars, Venus, Minos, &c. which popular miſtakes Sir Iſaac employs to ſupport another imaginary identity that they never dreamt of.

From this ſtate of Antiquity I would infer theſe two things. Firſt, that, notwithſtanding the conformity in the hiſtories of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe the reality of their diſtinct perſonalities, becauſe the ſame kind of ſimilitude, ariſing from the ſame miſtake, is found in the hiſtories of many other ancient heroes confeſſedly diſtinct. Secondly, that there muſt have been, in Antiquity, ſome very convincing proofs of the real diverſity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, to keep them, as it did, perpetually ſeparate, notwithſtanding the ſameneſs in their hiſtories; when the like kind of conformity had melted two or more Bacchus's, Hercules's, Minos's, into one.

On the whole then, I have ſhewn, that a *ſameneſs of name* is ſufficient to account for the original of the conformity in the hiſtory of Oſiris and Seſoſtris; and, having done this, I have done all that is needful to aſcertain their *diverſity of perſon:* there being nothing to oppoſe to the full teſtimony of ancient hiſtory, which declares for their diverſity, beſides this conformity of actions.

But I have done more: I have ſhewn, that a *ſameneſs of name* was, in fact, the only cauſe of that conformity; and, conſequently, that their perſons were really different. That it could be only a *ſameneſs of name*, I think, appears evidently from the giving to each hero, actions unſuitable to his age; as great conqueſts to Oſiris, and civil inventions to Seſoſtris. For I perſuade myſelf, (though

(though Sir Isaac be obliged, for the sake of his hypothesis, partly to support, and partly to palliate, this convincing circumstance) no one can, in good earnest, believe that Egypt was indeed, emerging from a state of barbarism at the time in which he places Sesostris. 'Tis true, if men will yet suppose so, I have no better argument against it than the Bible: and how far the credit of that will go in this enlightened age is not very easy to guess. In a word, such unsuitable actions ascribed to each, nothing can account for, but a mistaken identity, arising from the *sameness of name*; for when this had advanced, or brought down, the real antiquity of either, the historian was to suit their actions to the imaginary time. Besides, we know they are not at all scrupulous about property, when they find an atchievement in their way, capable of doing honour to a favourite Hero. There is, as might be expected, a pregnant instance of this, in the history of this very Sesostris; of whom it was recorded, that he divided the lands of Egypt amongst the People, reserving an annual rent to the Crown[m]. Now we are very certain that this was done, long before his time, under the ministry of the Patriarch Joseph. Here the theft lies open. While these Heroes were only made to pilfer from one another, there was some difficulty to get them convicted; as where two cheats are taught to convey their stolen goods into one another's hands, to evade a pursuit: but here an honest man steps in to make good his claim, and proves it beyond all exception.

[m] — Κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα [Σέσωστριν] κλῆρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα. καὶ ἀπὸ τουτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἀποτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. *Herod.* l. ii. c. 109.

But

But it is our buſineſs only to ſhew that the conformity, in the hiſtories of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, may be well accounted for, from a *ſameneſs of name.* Otherwiſe, if the caſe required it, we ſhould not want poſitive arguments, ſupported by the ſoundeſt part of Antiquity, to prove their difference of perſon. To mention one or two only by the way; it has been obſerved before[n], that, in ſubſtituting *Hero*, to *Planet-worſhip*, the Egyptian rulers, in order to bring the people more eaſily into this later ſpecies of idolatry, called the *Hero* by the name of a *Celeſtial God.* So Diodorus ſays, *that Sol firſt reigned in Egypt; called ſo from the Luminary of that name in the heavens.* This was the eaſier brought about, becauſe the firſt Civilizers, to gain the greater authority, pretended, as was very natural, to be the Offspring of the Sun, that univerſal God of all the uncivilized people upon earth. For the ſame end likewiſe, namely to accuſtom the people, even while in the practice of Planet-worſhip, to the new adoration, they turned the compliment the other way; and called the Luminary by the name of the Hero; the ſame hiſtorian telling us that *they called the Sun, Oſiris, and the Moon, Iſis.* Now the end of this mutual transferring of *names* being only to ſtrengthen their *new* idolatry by giving it a ſupport from the *old*, it muſt needs be invented on the firſt introduction of hero-worſhip. But hero-worſhip was as early as the firſt inſtitution of civil policy. Therefore the uſing the name of Oſiris to this purpoſe, is a demonſtration that he was as early as ſober Antiquity ſuppoſed. Again, Herodotus tells us, and of his own knowledge, that no Gods, beſides Iſis and Oſiris, were worſhiped by all the

[n] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 467. *& ſeq.*

Egyptians

Egyptians in the ſame unvariable manner[o]. This I think a plain proof of their being the common benefactors of all Egypt, in the invention of corn, wine, and civil policy, as the Egyptian annals deliver; their other Hero-Gods, as particular and partial benefactors, being worſhiped variouſly. But this fixes them in their high Antiquity. Again, the calf and ox are owned to be the peculiar ſymbols of Oſiris: but the Golden Calf I have proved to be an Egyptian ſymbol; therefore Oſiris, was, at leaſt, as old as Moses. And again, our great Author owns[p], that the king who invented agriculture in Egypt, ſeems to have been worſhiped by his ſubjects in the ox or calf for this benefaction. Now the ox or calf was the ſymbol of Oſiris. But agriculture, we certainly know, was invented before the time of Joſeph, which will bring us to ſeek for Oſiris 700 years higher than Seſac, who is our author's ancient Oſiris or Seſoſtris of Egypt.

To proceed: Such were the blunders in the hiſtory of Oſiris and Seſoſtris[q], of which Sir Iſaac hath

[o] Θεὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑ τὺς αὐτὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἴσιός τε κ. Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τέτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. l. ii. c. 42.

[p] As Sir Iſaac's own words ſeem ſo much to ſhake his ſyſtem, I ſhall quote them at length. *The lower part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was ſcarce inhabited before the invention of corn, which made it uſeful: and the king, who by this invention firſt peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps the king of the city Meſir, where Memphis was afterwards built, ſeems to have been worſhiped by his ſubjects after death, in the ox or calf for this benefaction*, p. 197, 198.

[q] I apprehend ſuch miſtakes were pretty general in the traditional accounts of nations, concerning their early times. Garcil-

hath taken advantage, to prove them to be one and the ſame. And it is certain, as was ſaid before, that, had not the ſure records of Antiquity kept them ſeparate, this jumbling of their actions into one another's life had long ago incorporated them; and left no room for Sir Iſaac's diſcovery: for the Ancients were fond of running many into one, as appears particularly in the caſe of Bacchus, whoſe hiſtory we come now to conſider.

II. For Sir Iſaac farther ſtrengthens the evidence of their identity from Egyptian Hiſtory, with the Grecian Mythology: in which BACCHUS is delivered to us as the ſame with Oſiris: and Bacchus being but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, the very age of Seſoſtris, this, in his opinion, reduces all three to one[r].

This identity of Bacchus and Oſiris, Diodorus Siculus has very accurately confuted[s]. But to diſcover the general cauſe of this, and all other their miſtaken identities, we muſt trace down the religion of GREECE from its original.

It is a certain truth, agreed upon by ancient as well as modern writers, that CIVILIZED GREECE received its religion from EGYPT. But the way in which this commerce was carried on is not ſo

Garcillaſſo's hiſtory of the YNCAS affords us juſt ſuch another inſtance. "Ils pretendent (ſays the french tranſlator) qu'un "de leur Rois fût un grand *Legiſlateur*. Ils diſent de plus, "qu'il fût un excellent capitaine, qui *conquit un grand nombre* "*de Provinces & de Royaumes*. Mais pour le tirer de ce Laby- "rinte, ils *attribuent au premier Yuca tous ces choſes*, tant pour ce "qui eſt de leurs Loix, que du fondement de leur Empire." Vol. i. p. 150.

[r] Page 191. [s] Lib. i. p. 14.

well

well underſtood. It is generally ſuppoſed to have been done by adopting, and worſhiping the very Egyptian Gods themſelves. But this is a capital miſtake. It was not till long after their firſt acquaintance with Egypt, and inſtruction in their religious Rites, that they adopted Egyptian Gods: which I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew.

In the barbarous ages of Greece, their only Gods were thoſe natural Divinities, the heavenly Luminaries[t]. But, on their firſt commerce with Egypt for the arts of policy, they found there a new ſpecies of idolatry, the worſhip of DEAD MEN; which civilized Egypt had invented; and which, as they improved in policy, had almoſt worked out their firſt natural Deities; the ſame with thoſe of all other uncivilized nations[u]. This new ſpecies, the Greeks eagerly embraced: and beginning now to take the Egyptian nation for their model in religious as well as in civil matters, they brought home this mode of foreign worſhip, namely, DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Thus far is agreed on all hands. The material queſtion is, whether their object were Egyptian hero-gods; or whether, in imitation of that worſhip, they made hero-gods of their own? The common opinion is that they took the Egyptian. I ſuppoſe, on the contrary, that they muſt needs make hero-gods of their own; and could not, at that time, receive the other. My reaſon is this:

The greater celeſtial bodies were Deities in common, as their influence ſenſibly extended over the whole habitable globe. But hero-worſhip introduced the new idea of *local tutelary Deities*: and

[t] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 466.

[u] *Id. ib.*

this of neceſſity. For thoſe Heroes were the diſtinguiſhed benefactors of their own nation, at the expence, frequently, of their neighbours: and, for ſuch benefits, they were deified. Now ſeveral cauſes concurred to make men teach and think, that the care and providence of their Heroes, now become Gods, was ſtill, as in life, confined to their own dear Country: Such as the ſuperior reverence which rulers knew the People would pay to a God, whoſe Peculiar they were ſuppoſed to be: for, when undiſtracted with other cares, he would be ſuppoſed at full liberty to attend to the minuteſt concerns of his own People: Such again, as the ſelfiſhneſs and pride of the worſhipers, who would be for ingroſſing a God to themſelves; and raiſing honour to their Country from this imaginary property. So that the opinion of *local tutelary Deities*, became, at length one of the moſt general and moſt undiſputed doctrines of Paganiſm. It is delivered to us, for ſuch, by Plato: yet, as the origin of hero gods from humanity was to be kept out of ſight, he carefully diſguiſes the foundation of it. *The Gods* (ſays he) *formerly divided the whole earth amongſt themſelves by lot: not from any contention or quarrel about their rights; for it is abſurd to ſuppoſe they did not know what was fit for every one's peculiar care; or knowing this, that they ſhould endeavour by violence to poſſeſs themſelves of one another's property: but all of them receiving in an amicable manner, what fell to their ſhare*[x], *in this juſt method of diſtribution, each reſided on his own peculiar:*

[x] Τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες — Serr. tranſlates it — deorum quiſque prout hominum amore teneretur. I underſtand it — hæc amicorum ſortiti — i. e. regions which belonged to gods who were in unity with one another.

which,

which, having rendered proper for our habitation, they lead and ſupport us as ſhepherds do their flocks and herds in a paſture.—Every God therefore having his proper allotment, all his endeavours are employed to adorn and benefit his own[y]. This was ſo flattering a notion, that, in after times, the Pagans carried it even into their Planet-worſhip: and each climate was ſuppoſed to be under the proper protection of its own Star or Conſtellation. So that the writer of *The wiſdom of Solomon* ſeems to make this the diſtinguiſhing mark of Paganiſm; where praiſing the God of Iſrael for his ancient mercies to that people, he ſays, *neither is there any God but thou, that careſt for* ALL[z].

Now, ſuch a kind of *tutelary* God, the Egyptians would be ſo far from offering to others, that they would be careful to keep him to themſelves. Hence the old practice of chaining down their Gods (for hero-gods were worſhiped by ſtatues in human form) when they imagined them diſpoſed to ramble; or to take a liking to any of their neighbours. And as the Egyptians would be averſe to lending, ſo the Greeks would be as little inclined to borrow; for they had now a race of Heroes of their own; thoſe godlike men, who had reduced them from a ſavage to a civilized condition, and had given them this very appetite; the appetite to im-

[y] Θεοὶ γὰρ ἅπασαν γῆν ποτὲ καλὰ τὺς τόπυς διελάγχανον, ὐ κατ' ἔριν (ὐ γὰρ ἂν ὀρθὸν ἔχοι λόγον, θεὺς αἱνοεῖν τὰ περίποθα ἑκάτοις αὐτῶν, ὐδ' αὖ γινώσκοντας τὸ μᾶλλον ἄλλοις προσῆκον, τῦτο ἑτέρυς αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρίδων ἐπιχειρεῖν κλᾶσθαι) δίκης δὲ κληροις τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες καλῴκιζον τὰς χώρας· κ᾽ καλοικίσαντες, οἷον νομεῖς κλήματα κ᾽ ποίμνια κ᾽ θρέμματα ἑαυτῶν ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφον. —— ἄλλοι μὲν ὧν κατ' ἄλλας τόπυς κληρυχήσαντες θεῶν ἐκεῖνα ἐκόσμυν. Vol. iii. p. 109. *Ser. Ed.*

[z] Cap. xii. 13. Οὔτε γὰρ θεός ἐστι πλὴν σῦ, ᾧ μέλει περὶ πάντων, ἵνα δείξῃς ὅτι ὐκ ἀδίκως ἔκρινας.

prove their policy by the aſſiſtance of Egyptian wiſdom. As little too would their own Lawgivers, who brought that wiſdom home to them, be diſpoſed to offer them Egyptian Gods; as knowing how much ſtronger their reverence and adherence would be to Gods made out of their own parents and fellow-citizens. But if this were the caſe, (and, in the courſe of the inquiry, it will be proved from *fact*, as here from the *reaſon* of the thing) it may be aſked, What then was that RELIGION which all agree the Greeks borrowed of the Egyptians? I anſwer, the TRADE itſelf of Hero-worſhip; or the cuſtom of deifying their dead benefactors. But again, if this were ſo, and that the Bacchus, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, &c. firſt worſhiped by the Greeks, were indeed Grecian Deities, it will be then aſked, how came their reſemblance to the Egyptian to be ſo great, as that later times ſhould be generally deceived in thinking them the SAME? This is a reaſonable queſtion, and will deſerve a particular diſcuſſion. There were ſeveral cauſes of this reſemblance.

1. Nothing could be more ſimple than the RITUAL of the firſt *Planet-worſhip*, as may be eaſily collected from the nature of that idolatry. But *Hero-worſhip* neceſſarily introduced a great number of complex Ceremonies. For, the commemorating the peculiar benefits received from the Hero-god, in his ſtate of humanity, would occaſion many *ſpecific* Rites: and the ſhadowing or concealing his original and eſpecially the blemiſhes in his moral character would neceſſitate the uſe of *allegorical*. And what this laſt ſort of Rites did not ſufficiently cover, the notion propagated amongſt his worſhipers (on which was founded the rationale of their worſhip) was made to ſupply, viz. That the

Demons or *Heros* had, like *men*, their inordinate virtues, paſſions and appetites. Plutarch in his tract *Of the ceaſing of the oracles* has a remarkable paſſage to this purpoſe. "There are in demons, as in men, a diſparity in their virtues; and, like as in the latter a mixture of paſſion and imperfection. Of which, in ſome, we find only the faint and obſcure traces yet remain, as the dregs of evanid matter; in others the veſtiges are much ſtronger, and indeed, indelible: and of this, we have certain marks and tokens diſperſed up and down, and preſerved in the ſacrifices, in the myſteries, and in the ancient mythologic tales [a]." In like manner, the general memory of the Hero's deſcent from mortals, gave riſe to the conſultation of oracles and adoration of statues in human form. Now, when Greece borrowed of Egypt the ſuperſtition of Hero-worſhip, they would of courſe borrow ſuch of the Rites and practices as were peculiar to that ſuperſtition; and adapt them to their own Hero-gods, as beſt ſuited every one's character. For the truth of which we have the expreſs teſtimony of Herodotus, who tells us, that *the Egyptians were the firſt authors of religious feſtivals, proceſſions, and offerings; and that the Greeks learnt them of that people* [b]. But this reſemblance, even without a ſtudious application of Egyptian rites, muſt have ariſen, from the very practice itſelf of Hero-worſhip; as appears from what we have obſerved of the nature of thoſe

[a] Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ Δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ, καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἔτι λείψανον, ὥσπερ περίττωμα· τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἐνεστιν, ὧν ἴχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχοῦ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδιεσπαρμένας.

[b] — Πανηγύρεις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. l. ii. c. 58.

ceremonies which Hero-worſhip neceſſarily introduced. To confirm this, we need only conſider the caſe of thoſe hero-worſhipers of the north and weſt, the Gauls and Suevi; who did not, like the Greeks, borrow this mode of idolatry from Egypt; being indebted for it to nothing but the corruption of our common nature. Now the Gods of thoſe Barbarians, and the Rites with which their Gods were adored, reſembled the religion of Greece and Rome ſo exactly, that theſe polite nations thought the Gods of the Gauls and Suevi were the ſame with their own; only worſhiped under different names[c]. This was indeed a groſs miſtake;

[c] Julius Cæſar had ſo little doubt of this matter, that ſpeaking of the Gauls, he ſays, *Deum maximè* Mercurium *colunt — Poſt hunc*, Apollinem & Martem & Jovem & Minervam. *De his eandem ferè, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem.* De Bell. Gall. l. vi. ſect. 15. The reaſon he gives, is that the ſeveral Gods of Gaul had attributes correſpondent to thoſe of Greece and Rome. Hence he, and moſt other writers concluded them to be the ſame. So Tacitus obſerves of the Germans that they worſhiped Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, deorum maxime Mercurium colunt — Herculem ac Martem conceſſis animalibus placant. [*De mor. Ger.* c. ix.] and ſpeaking of the Æſtii, a nation of the Suevians, he ſays, they worſhiped the *mother of the Gods. — Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æſtiorum gentes adluuntur: quibus ritus habituſque Sueworum, lingua Britannicæ propior.* Matrem Deûm venerantur. [c. 45.] But this *Mother of the Gods* was, as we learn from the ancient northern Chronicles, an idol peculiar to thoſe people, called Solotta Babba, or *the golden woman.* Yet as ſhe moſt reſembled the *Mother of the Gods*, ſhe is called ſo by Tacitus without any heſitation: who yet, in another place, ſpeaking of the worſhip paid to Caſtor and Pollux amongſt this people, gives us to underſtand by his expreſſion that no more was meant than that the Germans had a couple of Gods whoſe attributes and relation to one another bore a reſemblance to the Greek and Roman *Dioſcuri.* "Præſidet ſacerdos muliebri ornatu, ſed "Deos, *interpretatione Romana*, Caſtorem Pollucemque me- "morant." [c. 43.] But what greatly confirms our opinion is, that, when theſe people were converted from Paganiſm, to the

take; but natural to fall into: So great a reſemblance have Heroes of all times and places ever born

Chriſtian faith, their Convertiſts, who had the beſt opportunities and fitteſt occaſion to enquire throughly into the ſtate of their ſuperſtition, found neither Greek nor Roman Gods amongſt them; but Idols of their own growth only. And though, indeed, the vulgar herd of Antiquarians, miſled by the Claſſic writers, are wont to ſpeak after them, in this matter, yet the moſt learned inveſtigators of the hiſtory of this people expreſsly affirm the contrary. Of whom I need only mention the celebrated Saxo Grammaticus, who ſays, "Eos qui a noſtris "colebantur non eſſe quos Romanorum vetuſtiſſimi Jovem "Mercuriumque dixere, vel quibus Græci Latiumque plenum "ſuperſtitionis obſequium exſolverunt, ex ipſa liquidò feria-"rum appellatione colligitur." *Hiſt. Dan.* l. vi. But Tacitus has recorded a circumſtance which fully evinces the miſtake of this ſuppoſed identity. For when he had told us that the Germans worſhiped Mercury, Hercules, Mars, &c. he immediately adds that they did not worſhip their Gods in Temples, nor under a Human figure. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris ſpeciem aſſimilare ex magnitudine cœleſtium arbitrantur. [c. ix.] I quote the words for the *fact*. The *reaſon* ſeems to be a conjecture of his own. Now if the Germans had borrowed their Mercury, Hercules, and Mars from Greece and Rome, they probably would have worſhiped them in Temples; moſt certainly, under a Human form. And, what is ſtrangeſt of all, Tacitus himſelf afterwards, in the caſe of the Naharvali, ſeems to be ſenſible of this; for having told us that they worſhiped two young Brother-Gods, which the Romans conjectured to be Caſtor and Pollux, he makes the following obſervation as ſeeming to diſſent from them. Nulla SIMULACRA, nullum peregrinæ ſuperſtitionis veſtigium. c. xliii.

A celebrated French author, M. Freret, has borrowed and adopted this ſyſtem. He holds with me, that the Gods of theſe barbarians were not the ſame with the Greek and Roman Gods; and that the miſtake aroſe from the reſemblance between their attributes, which he ſhews, in the manner I have done, (and I ſuppoſe from the obſervations I had made) muſt needs be alike. "Chaque Dieu dans toute religion "Polytheiſte avoit ſon diſtrict, ſes occupations, ſon caractere, "&c. Le partage avoit été réglé ſur les paſſions & ſur les "beſoins des hommes: & comme leurs paſſions & leurs beſoins "ſont les mêmes par tout, les départemens des Dieux barbares "avoient

born to one another; whether they were lawgivers, warriors, navigators, merchants, or artiſts. Nor was their common riſe from humanity, and their occupations in ſocial life, the only cauſe of this reſemblance. There was another; viz. their ſeveral departments after they were become Gods: ſome preſiding over the elements, as earth, air, or water; others over the paſſions and purſuits of men, as love, war, trade, and the like. To this common reſemblance it was that at length almoſt every nation

" avoient neceſſairement du rapport avec ceux des divinités de " la Gréce. Il falloit par tout une intelligence qui gouvernât " le ciel, & qui lançêt le tonnerre. Il en falloit d'autres pour " gouverner les élémens, pour préſider à la guerre, au com- " merce, à la paix, &c. La conformité des emplois entraînoit " une reſſemblance d'attributs: & c'étoit ſur ce fondement, " que les Grecs & les Romains donnoient les noms de leurs " Dieux aux divinités des Barbares."—*Voiez M. de la Bleterie, ſes remarques ſur la Germanie de Tacit.* p. 135.

In concluſion; the learned reader will remark, that this is a ſpecies of that general *conformity* which I had obſerved is commonly aſcribed to *imitation,* when in truth its ſource is in our common nature, and the ſimilar circumſtances in which the partakers of it are generally found. Here, again I have the pleaſure of finding this M. Freret agree with me in this general principle, as before in the particular ſyſtem of polytheiſm here advanced. " Il ſeroit utile, dit M. Freret, de raſſembler les conformités " qui ſe trouvent entre des nations qu'on ſait n'avoir jamais " eu de commerce enſemble. Ces exemples pourroient rendre " les critiques un peu moins hardis à ſuppoſer qu'une nation " a emprunté certains opinions & certains coûtumes d'une autre " nation, dont elle étoit ſéparée par une très-grande diſtance, " & avec qui l'on ne voit point qu'elle ait jamais eu la moindre " communication." See *M. de la Bleterie,* p. 168. and compare it with what I had ſaid many years before at the end of the laſt ſection of this 4th book. When I reflect upon the honours of this kind, which ſeveral writers of this *humane* nation have done me in ſilence, it puts me in mind of what Muret ſays of Macrobius on the like occaſion, — ut appareat eum factitaſſe eandem artem, quam plerique hoc ſæculo faciunt, qui ita humani a ſe nihil alienum putant, ut alienis æquè utantur ac ſuis.

pretended, (as we ſee by Diodorus) that the Gods came originally from them. Now if the Gods of theſe Barbarians, though different in name, were for this reſemblance, miſtaken for the Gods of another people, with whom they had no commerce; where was the wonder that the Grecian Gods, who had the ſame name with thoſe of a people with whom Greece held a perpetual commerce, ſhould for the like reſemblance, be believed to be originally Egyptian?

2. For, ſecondly, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites to enrich the worſhip of their Gods, they borrowed Egyptian NAMES of honour, to adorn their perſons. Thus, for inſtance, the name of Bacchus, one of the appellations of Oſiris, was given to the ſon of Semele. Herodotus tells us, that theſe *names* they did certainly borrow; and, we ſee by his account, that this was all which, in his time, was pretended to be borrowed[d]. This obſerving hiſtorian, in his account of the Pelaſgi, further confirms this truth, by a very curious piece of hiſtory. " In former times, (ſays he) the Pe-
" laſgi in their religious worſhip uſed to ſacrifice
" of every thing without diſtinction, to their Gods,
" as I was informed by the prieſts at Dodona.
" They gave neither *name* nor *ſurname* to any of
" their Gods: for they had heard of no ſuch prac-
" tice. But their titles were taken from what their
" worſhipers conceived of their providence, direct-

[d] Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ ΟΥΝΟΜΑΤΑ τῶν Θεῶν ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκει πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω ἔον. δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι. ὅ, τι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδεῶνος, καὶ Διοσκούρων (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται καὶ Ἥρης, καὶ Ἱστίης, καὶ Θέμιος, καὶ Χαριτων, καὶ Νηρηΐδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰείκοτε τὰ οὐνοματά ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λίγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. l. ii. c. 50.

" ing

" ing and ordering all things fitly and harmoniouſly.
" But after a long courſe of time they heard
" of other Gods, and of their NAMES, which came
" from EGYPT, and in the laſt place of the name
" of BACCHUS. Some time after they conſulted the
" Oracle of Dodona concerning theſe NAMES: for
" this Oracle is ſuppoſed to be the oldeſt of any in
" Greece; and, at the time I am ſpeaking of,
" the only one. Of this Oracle therefore having
" aſked advice, whether they ſhould admit the
" NAMES, which came from the Barbarians, into
" their religion; they received for anſwer, that
" they ſhould admit them. From that time [e] there-

[e] It is remarkable, that though Herodotus tells us, theſe Pelaſgians, before their knowledge or admiſſion of the *Egyptian names*, ſacrificed to their Gods, [Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἵδε Πελασγοὶ] yet when they had admitted theſe *names*, he gives the matter of ſacrificing as one change which this admiſſion had introduced; *from that time*, ſays he, *they ſacrificed*, [ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον.] A paſſage in Julius Cæſar will explain this difficulty: After he had given an account of the Gods of the Gauls, who, living under a civil Policy, worſhiped Herogods; he goes on to thoſe of the uncivilized Germans, which, he tells us, were only the celeſtial Luminaries and Elements. *Deorum numero eos ſolos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus apertè juvantur*; Solem & Vulcanum & Lunam. *Reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.* De Bel. Gal. l. vi. ſect. 19. The very Gods, as we obſerved, of all the uncivilized idolaters upon earth. Now of theſe Barbarians he adds, *Neque* Druides *habent, qui rebus divinis præſint*; *neque* SACRIFICIIS STUDENT. They were not nice and exact in the matter of *ſacrificing:* and no wonder, for he tell us, they had no Prieſts. Now Herodotus, ſpeaking of his barbarians, informs us of the ſame thing, though in other words, and on a different occaſion. *They ſacrificed*, ſays he, *every thing without diſtinction*; this was the *neque ſacrificiis ſtudent* of Cæſar. But when they came to uſe the *names* of the Egyptian Gods, then ἔθυον, *they ſacrificed*, i. e. made a *ſtudy* of it, had a large Ritual concerning it, and no longer ſacrificed without diſtinction. For theſe *names* being expreſſive of each God's peculiar nature, qualities, and diſpoſitions, ſoon introduced a diſtinction of ſacrifices, according to the imaginary agreement or diſagreement between the *ſubject* and the *object*.

" fore they ſacrificed with ſpecific multifarious " Rites, in which they honoured their Gods with " theſe new *appellations*. And, from the Pelaſgi, " the Greeks afterwards took up the cuſtom. " But the original of each God, and whether they " are all from eternity, and what are their ſeveral " kinds of natures, to ſay the truth, they neither " knew at that time, nor ſince. For Homer and " Hesiod—were thoſe who made a Theogony for " the Greeks; gave SURNAMES to the Gods; ad- " juſted their various and ſpecific Rites and Attri- " butes; and deſigned and delineated their ſeveral " forms and figures[f]."

From this remarkable paſſage we may deduce the following facts; which, beſides the evidence to the matter in queſtion, are very corroborative of our general explanation of Antiquity. 1. It appears from hence, that the Greeks borrowed the *names* of the Egyptian Gods[g], to decorate their own;

[f] Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι· ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας· ἐπωνυμίην δ' ἐδ' ὄνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτέων· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. Θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τῆ τοιύτε, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον· ἐπεί τε δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ διεξελθόντι, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτε ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσε δὲ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπυθοῦλο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηςηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντῆιον τῆτο νενόμιζο ἀρχαιόταλον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηςηρίων εἶναι· καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τῆτον μῦθον· ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηςηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκοντα. ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντῆιον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τότε τῇ χρόνῳ ἔθυον, τοῖσι ὀνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι, παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκας Φ τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε δ' ἀεὶ ἦσαν πάντες ὁκοῖοί τε τινες τὰ εἴδεα, ἐκ ἠπιςέατο μέχρι ἔ πρὶν τε καὶ χθές, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον—ἕτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες, Θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ θεοῖσι τὰς τοῖσι ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. l. ii. c. 52—53.

[g] This *communication of names*, (from whence the men we are arguing againſt, inferred, that the Grecian Gods were originally

own; receiving them, as Herodotus here ſuppoſes, by the hands of the Pelaſgians. 2. That they received *nothing but the names.* 3. That the humour of theſe ancient inhabitants of Greece was ſo far from diſpoſing them to take Egyptian, or Stranger-Gods, that they would not ſo much as venture on their *names* till they had conſulted the Oracle. 4. That the *Religion of names* came in with Hero-worſhip or local tutelary Deities; (to which ſpecies of Gods *names* were an honorary attribution) and unknown to the worſhipers of the *natural Divinities*, as the Pelaſgians and all other uncivilized people. 5. That this *Religion of names* was a thing of much conſequence in the Egyptian ſuperſtition, and even characteriſtic of it; which the reader is deſired to obſerve as of uſe to explain ſome paſſages in the next ſection, concerning the propenſity of the Iſraelites to that ſuperſtition. 6. That one cauſe of that ignorance, which, Herodotus here tells us, the Greeks ever laboured under, concerning the original, nature, and ſpecies of their Gods, and which, as now appears we had not unjuſtly charged upon them, when we ventured to ſay the ſame in ſeveral parts of this work, one cauſe, I ſay, was, that thoſe *names* which the Pelaſgians had applied to their new Hero-Gods, the Greeks, their ſucceſſors,

ginally Egyptian) made another party, ſuch as Bochart, Huet, and Fourmont, conclude they were originally Jewiſh. Thus the laſt of theſe writers in one place ſays, *Par tout ce diſcours il eſt clair, que les Romains, les Grecs, les Phrygiens, les Thraces, les Getes, les autres Scythes, & en general tous les peuples Guerriers ont adoré* MARS ſans le connoître, *& que c' etoit un Dieu originairement Phenicien, comme les autres grands Dieux.* [*Reſl. Crit.* vol. i. p. 103.] And in another place, *Mais en voilà aſſez ſur ce Dieu ou Heros, qui, comme l'on voit, avoit été fort illuſtre* SANS ETRE CONNU. [p. 156.] For, according to theſe Critics, a pagan Hero was never *known* till his pedigree had been traced up into the Holy family.

took

took and transferred to theirs. 7. And laſtly, (which ſupports the general argument we are now upon) the true ſenſe of the concluding words, which has hitherto been groſly miſtaken, lies open to us.—*For* (ſays Herodotus) *Homer and Heſiod—were thoſe who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave ſurnames to the Gods; adjuſted their various and ſpecific attributes, and rites of worſhip; and deſigned and delineated their ſeveral forms and figures.* What hath been commonly underſtood by theſe words is, that in Herodotus's opinion, the Greeks knew little or nothing of what we call their claſſical Gods, till Homer and Heſiod taught them how they were to be marſhalled, and had aſſigned their ſeveral departments. A ſenſe not only confuted by the poems of thoſe two writers, who relate what they ſaw ESTABLISHED in their own times, but contradicted by what went juſt before, where the hiſtorian tells us that *Melampus* (whom Homer himſelf places three generations before the Trojan war) *firſt taught the Greeks the name, the rites, and the myſteries of Bacchus*[h]; the God laſt received (if we may believe the ſame hiſtorian) after the *Religion of names* was come in faſhion. And we have no reaſon to doubt his evidence, when we ſee the ſeveral parts of it ſo well coincide: for if Melampus firſt taught the Greeks the worſhip of Bacchus, this God muſt needs be the laſt received by them. But indeed, the whole context excludes the common interpretation, and directs us to one, very different. The Pelaſgians (we are told) received the RELIGION OF NAMES from the Barbarians [i. e. the Egyptians] by which, the Gods

[h] — Ἤδη ὦν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαὴς, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἕλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τὸ Διονύσου, τοῦτε οὔνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τῷ φαλλῷ. c. 49.

were

were divided into their ſeveral claſſes. This new doctrine, the Pelaſgians conveyed down to the Greeks. *But* (ſays the hiſtorian) *the original of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what their ſeveral kinds and natures are, to ſay the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor ſince.* He then immediately ſubjoins the reaſon of their ignorance — FOR *Homer and Heſiod — were thoſe who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave* SURNAMES *to the Gods; adjuſted their various and ſpecific rites and attributes; and deſigned and delineated their ſeveral forms and figures:* and a convincing reaſon it is; for Homer's and Heſiod's being the popular and only authoriſed books of Theology amongſt the Greeks, which aſſign the *names*, the *attributes*, and the *form* to each God, and their accounts being, at the ſame time, over-run with fables and fictions, it was impoſſible even for the Greeks themſelves to develop the confuſion, and emancipate themſelves from that ignorance here complained of, namely, of the *true natures of their Gods:* which indeed, their Teachers ſeem to have known as little of as themſelves. For Homer when he ſpeaks of Jupiter, ſometimes repreſents him as a God *from eternity*, at other times as only the head of the college of their terreſtrial Deities. This, then was what Herodotus meant to ſay; who is not ſpeaking of the INVENTIONS of Homer and Heſiod; but of their AUTHORITY. Whether they were the firſt who propagated or delivered theſe things was not the matter in queſtion. Had it been ſo, we know how Herodotus would have decided; who, in this very place, expreſly tells us, who were the FIRST; namely the Pelaſgians; who delivered them to the Greeks; where Homer and Heſiod found them. However, on the common interpretation, groſs as it is, Sir Iſaac Newton builds

builds one of his ſtrongeſt arguments in favour of his *new Chronology*. To proceed,

3. The Greeks not only borrowed the NAMES, but likewiſe the SYMBOLS of the Egyptian Gods; and fitted them to their own. A very natural ſuperſtition, as appears by the practice of the Hebrews in the wilderneſs; who, in the abſence of Moſes, running back into Egyptian idolatry, would needs worſhip the God of their Fathers under an *Egyptian Symbol*; and with *Egyptian Rites* likewiſe, *and the people ſat down to eat and drink, and roſe up to play.* Now had God, on this occaſion, perſiſted in the ſeverity of his juſtice, where he tells Moſes, that he would indeed give them the land of Canaan, and drive out the inhabitants before them, becauſe he had promiſed Abraham ſo to do, yet that he would not honour them, as a ſelect People, with his peculiar protection: Had, I ſay, God thus caſt them off, and the people departed with their new Leader, the GOLDEN CALF, into Canaan; and there made it the viſible repreſentative of the God of their Fathers, and worſhiped it with Egyptian Rites; who can doubt but that the late poſterity of this people, thus abandoned by God, and given up *to make and believe a lye*, would have ſuppoſed that their Forefathers had worſhiped Oſiris, and not Jehovah, under this *golden calf?* The caſe needs no application.

This then was the whole of what Greece borrowed from Egypt in matter of religion, when it FIRST learnt the *mode* of Hero-worſhip from that ſuperſtitious people. But

4. It muſt be owned, that ſoon after, they did indeed adopt STRANGER Gods. At firſt the occaſion

caſion was rare, and the Worſhip particular and confined. Thus the Athenians labouring under a deſtructive famine, and relieved by Egypt with corn, did, in gratitude for that benefit, make Iſis the patron-Goddeſs of their Myſteries.

Their Migrations were another cauſe of this adoption: for every region having a local tutelary Deity, the new Colony thought themſelves obliged to worſhip the God of that place in which they came to ſettle. But, of this, more in another place.

However, in proceſs of time, the Greeks naturalized all the greater Gods of Egypt. For we are to obſerve that, as ſuperſtition grew in bulk, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, ariſing from the very eſſence of Paganiſm, at length overſpread all their National Religions, ſo as to bring things round again. We obſerved, that thoſe moſt early Idol-gods, the *Celeſtial luminaries*, were common to all nations, and that *Hero-worſhip* brought in the idea of local tutelary Deities: now, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY at length broke down this incloſure, and turned all their Gods again upon the Common,

" The grazed ox, and all her bleating Gods [1].

But to be a little more particular concerning theſe various revolutions in the genius of Paganiſm. The firſt idolatry was *Planetary:* and ſo long, their Gods were in common. But *Hero-worſhip*, by bringing in local tutelary Deities, made their Gods, peculiar. As the times grew poliſhed, and the

[1] *Milton.*

abſurdity

abſurdity of MORTAL GODS became better underſtood, the Managers of this ſuperſtition were obliged to hide their origin from Earth, and to pretend they had ever been Celeſtial. This ſoon wore out their peculiarity, and brought in again, the notion of their general providence: which, by means of an increaſing ſuperſtition, ended in an univerſal INTERCOMMUNITY. To explain all theſe particulars, as they deſerve, would require a volume. And not much leſs perhaps might be collected from what hath been occaſionally ſaid of them, in the courſe of this work. Only one attendant circumſtance in theſe revolutions, it may not be improper to take notice of, as it greatly contributed to fix the later Greeks in their miſtake concerning the origin of their Hero-Gods: It was this, The learned Egyptians, as we have obſerved, at length contrived to hide the deformity of their idolatry by pretending that the whole had a reference to the ONLY GOD. Thus their various *Brute-worſhip*, they ſaid, was ſeverally relative to the various attributes of the DIVINITY. The ſame kind of refinement they brought into their *Hero-worſhip:* and each of their greater Gods they made ſignificative, ſome way or other, of the FIRST CAUSE. But to perfect this part of their ſymbolical Theology, it was neceſſary to make large additions to the Legends of thoſe Gods. And thus the ſeveral parts of ISIS's hiſtory became relative to the divine Nature. But ISIS being now poſſeſſed of all the attributes, which happened to be ſeverally divided amongſt the various Grecian Goddeſſes, the Greeks began to think that theſe were all originally derived from her. This was the eſtabliſhed doctrine in the time of Apuleius: who makes ISIS addreſs herſelf to him in theſe words: *En aſſum—rerum natura parens—cujus numen unicum multiformi*

mi

mi ſpecie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Peſſinunticam *nominant* Deûm matrem; *hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam* Minervam; *illinc fluctuantes Cyprii patriam* Venerem; *Cretes Sagittiferi Dictynnam* Dianam; *ſiculi trilingues Stygiam* Proſerpinam; *Eleuſinii vetuſtam Deam* Cererem; Junonem *alii, alii* Bellonam, *alii* Hecaten, Rhamnuſiam *alii—Ægyptii ceremoniis me prorſus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine* ISIDEM [k].

OSIRIS too, becoming equally ſymbolical, made his fortune in the ſame manner, as appears by this ancient epigram:

Ogygia me Bacchum *vocat,*
OSIRIN *Ægyptus putat,*
Myſi Phanacen *nominant,*
Dionyſon *Indi exiſtimant,*
Romana Sacra Liberum,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucaniacus Pantheum [l].

Thus have I explained the ſeveral cauſes which occaſioned the later Greeks to think their own Gods were originally Egyptian; for underſtanding that the *Rites*, the *Names*, and the very *Symbols* of their Gods were borrowed from thence, they concluded the ſame, of the Gods themſelves. And with good appearance of reaſon, as they found too that the ages immediately preceding theirs, had certainly adopted Egyptian Gods; which Gods had all the attributes of the Grecian. Now when this opinion was once generally embraced, they would, of courſe, invent a Legend for the Gods, conformable

[k] *Metam.* l. xi. p. 378. [l] *Auſonius*, Ep. xxx.

to

to the Egyptian hiſtory of them. And thus we ſee the reaſon why they made their Bacchus but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, of which age he was; and yet made him Osiris, the conqueror of India, which he was not[m]. But their more intelligent hiſtorians perceived the abſurdity; and ſo, reaſonably ſatisfied themſelves in ſuppoſing a *double Bacchus:* but being, as Herodotus obſerves, *very ignorant of the true origin of their Religion*, it was a mere gratuitous ſolution: which made it eaſy for Sir Iſaac to evade it; by only ſuppoſing, in his turn, that it was their

[m] But, beſides the Greek and Egyptian, there was certainly an *Indian* Bacchus: whoſe exiſtence and hiſtory the learned Mr. Shuckford has well diſembarraſſed. I ſhall quote his words, and this, with more pleaſure than I have yet done on moſt occaſions. "There have been ſeveral perſons called by the name "of *Bacchus*, at leaſt one in *India*, one in *Egypt*, and one in "*Greece*; but we muſt not confound them one with the other, "eſpecially when we have remarkable hints by which we may "ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them. For 1. The Indian Bacchus "was the firſt and moſt ancient of all that bore that name. "2. He was the firſt that preſſed the grape and made wine. "3. He lived in theſe parts before there were any cities in "India. 4. They ſay he was twice born, and that he was "nouriſhed in the thigh of *Jupiter*. Theſe are the particulars "which the heathen writers give us of the Indian Bacchus; "and from all theſe hints it muſt unqueſtionably appear that "he was Noah, and no other. Noah being the firſt man in "the *poſt-diluvian* world, lived early enough to be the moſt "ancient Bacchus; and Noah, according to Moſes, was the "firſt that made wine. Noah lived in thoſe parts as ſoon as "he came out of the ark, earlier than there were any cities "built in India; and as to the laſt circumſtance of Bacchus "being twice born, and brought forth out of the thigh of "Jupiter, Diodorus gives us an unexpected light into the true "meaning of this tradition; he ſays, *that Bacchus was ſaid to "be twice born, becauſe in Deucalion's flood he was thought to "have periſhed with the reſt of the world, but* God *brought "him again as by a ſecond nativity into the ſight of men, and they "ſay, mythologically, that he came out of the thigh of Jupiter.*" Connection, vol. ii. p. 49, 50.

wrong notion of the high antiquity of Egypt which made them ſplit one *Bacchus* into two. And yet, in another inſtance, he frankly enough allows of this ancient practice of the *communication of names*[n]. But he gives the fact reverſed: for they were the earlier Greeks who worſhiped two *Bacchus's*. And it was late, as we find by *Diodorus*, ere they incorporated them into one[o]. Now had the cauſe of their *duality* been what the great writer ſuppoſes, the fact had been juſt contrary; and earlier times had worſhiped *one* Bacchus, and the later, *two*. The truth of the caſe then is this: when they firſt worſhiped Hero-Gods, they had but one *Bacchus* and one *Hercules*, &c. and theſe were Grecian: when they afterwards borrowed the Egyptian Gods, they had two of each. And this is not ſaid at random; for Herodotus[p] and Diodorus[q] expreſly tell us, that two *Bacchus's* and two

[n] *The Phenicians upon their firſt coming into Greece gave the name of Jao-pater, Jupiter, to every king.* p. 150. Chron. of anc. kings amended.

[o] Διμήτορα δ' αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ παῖδος μὲν ἑνὸς ὑπάρξαι τὰς δύο Διονύσους, μητέρων δὲ δυεῖν. κεκληρονομηκέναι δὲ τὸν νεώτερον τὰς τῶ προγενεστέρω πράξεις. διόπερ τὰς ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ ἀνθρώπους, ΑΓΝΟΟΥΝΤΑΣ μὲν τἀληθὲς, πλανηθείσας δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἵνα γεγονέναι νομίσωσι Διόνυσον. l. iv. p. 148.

[p] — Καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι ἔτοι ὀρθόταλα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἳ δεξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἑλληΐζει· καὶ τῶ μὲν, ὡς ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩι Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην, θύουσι· τῶ δ' ἑτέρῳ, ὡς Ἥρωϊ, ἐναγίζουσι. *Herod.* l. ii. c. 44.

[q] Μυθολογοῦσι δέ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις πρότερον τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι, τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον· ὃ τήν τε γένεσιν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τιμὰς ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΑΣ καὶ ΚΡΥΦΙΑΣ παρεισάγουσι, διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν. *Diod.* l. iv. p. 148.

two *Hercules's* were worſhiped by different Rites, and as Gods of different original, the one Grecian, the other Egyptian. And at length, for the cauſes explained under the next head, the *two* of each were again reduced to *one*. For we ſhall now ſee, that deſign as well as miſtake contributed to confound the Grecian Bacchus with the Egyptian.

III. For our illuſtrious Author makes another uſe of the Grecian mythology, to ſupport his ſyſtem. He examines the genealogies of their Gods and Heroes; and finds them to coincide exactly with the time of Sesostris[1]: A farther evidence of the truth of his hypotheſis.

There are but few caſes in which one would ſeriouſly admit the teſtimony of a Mythologiſt. Leaſt of all, in ſettling of dates. The moſt learned of the moderns complain greatly of them for confounding all time in their pretended relations of fact. The excellent biſhop Stillingfleet thus expreſſeth himſelf: *We ſee thoſe* [Thucydides and Plutarch, whoſe confeſſion he had quoted] *who were beſt able to judge of the Greek Antiquities, can find no ſure footing to ſtand on in them; and what baſis can we find for our faith where they could find ſo little for their knowledge? And thoſe who have been more daring and venturous than theſe perſons mentioned, what a labyrinth have they run themſelves into? How many confuſions and contradictions have they in-*

Theſe *nightly* and *ſecret* Rites ſhew them to be Egyptian. As for what is ſaid of the other Bacchus's being the ſon of Proſerpine, this was only a fancy of the Greeks on obſerving the *myſteries* of Bacchus and thoſe of Ceres or Iſis to have a great reſemblance: but this was only occaſioned by their being both Egyptian Rites.

[1] Page 191. & ſeq. of the *Chron. of anc. kingdoms amended.*

volved

volved themſelves in? ſometimes writing the paſſages of other countries for thoſe of Greece, and at other times ſo confounding times, perſons, and places, that one might think they had only a deſign upon the underſtandings of their readers, to make them play at blind-man's-buff in ſearching for the kings of Greece [s]. And the candid and accurate biſhop CUMBERLAND ſpeaks ſo much to our purpoſe, that I ſhall add his words to the foregoing: *Their mythic writers confound and loſe all the times of their Gods; which advantage divers Chriſtians make uſe of againſt them: and this was a good argument* ad hominem, *as it is called, but is not ſufficient to prove, that idolatry, and the heathen Gods, are of* SO LATE AN ORIGINAL, *as ſome, both Heathen and Chriſtians, have affirmed them to be* [t]. Now though, in anſwer to what Sir Iſaac Newton brings from ſuch writers, it were enough to ſay, with thoſe who have conſidered their character before me, that they are ſo perplexed, contradictory, and infinitely fabulous, that nothing certain can be gathered from their accounts, for the regulation of ancient time; yet that they may never appear again amongſt witneſſes of credit, or be heard in matters of fact, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, from what ſources thoſe accounts aroſe, from which the low date of the Egyptian Gods is inferred: whence it will appear that they are a heap of fictions, invented and contrived, as uſual, only for the ſupport of greater.

1. The *firſt* ſource was the addreſs of the EGYPTIAN PRIESTS, to ſcreen their *Hero-worſhip* from the inquiſition of the curious. We have obſerved, from a famous fable, invented by theſe men [u], to

[s] *Orig. Sacr.* p. 41. 8th ed. [t] *Sanchoniatho*, p. 132, 133.

[u] The fable I mean is that of *Typhon's* perſecution of the Gods and their flight into Egypt; which the Greeks borrowed and fitted up with their own names of the Gods.

record the danger which this ſuperſtition incurred, and from their art in evading that danger, that the original of their *Hero-Gods* was a ſubject maliciouſly purſued by the Free enquirers of thoſe times. For the diſcredit attending this ſuperſtition was, that theſe Gods had been MEN; and the proof of their humanity was taken from their late exiſtence. Now what did theſe Maſters in their trade do, to evade this evidence? We have ſeen before what they did to obſcure the enquiry. Why, by an equal effort of their ſkill, they invented a ſet of fables (one of which has been examined above) concerning theſe Gods; which brought their births even *lower down* than to the times of their eſtabliſhed worſhip. What they gained by this was conſiderable: They threw a general confuſion over the whole hiſtory of theſe Gods: and in a ſhort time made men as indiſpoſed to give credit to the *old* ſtories of them, (from whence the dangerous truth of their HUMANITY might be collected) as theſe *new* fables, which it was impoſſible they ſhould believe, for the reaſon juſt now aſſigned. Hence, the firſt ſource of the *low dates* of theſe Hero-Gods.

2. The *ſecond*, was the extravagant vanity of the Greeks in pretending, at length, to be original even to the Egyptians themſelves. For we are to obſerve, that there were three diſtinguiſhed periods in the Religion of civilized Greece; two of which we have deſcribed already. The firſt was, when the Greeks borrowed egyptian Rites and Ceremonies to adorn their own Hero-gods: the ſecond, when they adopted the very Egyptian Gods: and the third, when, on the contrary, they pretended that the Egyptians had adopted Theirs. On their firſt acquaintance with Egypt, they were modeſt,

and

and fairly allowed its superior Antiquity. But as they advanced in arts and empire, they grew intoxicated with their good fortune; and would now contend with Egypt, (become by this time as much fallen and depressed, in both) for the honour of priority; and soon after, (as was no wonder when they had ventured so far) with all the rest of Mankind[x]. And then it was, that having, before this time, thoroughly confounded the grecian and egyptian Bacchus with design, (a confusion first occasioned by mistake) they invented many fables to countenance their absurd pretensions. Hence their idle tale of Apis the son or grandson of Phoroneus, becoming OSIRIS; without any other reason in the world than that the son of Phoroneus chanced to have the same name with the *symbol* of Osiris. Hence, again, the fable of Io, the daughter of Inachus, becoming ISIS; for scarce so good a reason; only an approaching similitude of names. Yet these two wretched fables, Sir Isaac Newton (surprising as it is) hath drawn in for the main supports of his hypothesis[y]. But as much credit as his countenance hath given to them, he who can suppose Io to be stolen out of Greece, carried into Egypt, and there made a Goddess, may as well believe an european ship to be now busied in bringing hither an indian savage to be made a queen.

But another story of the same stamp, carries its confutation along with it, as Herodotus rightly

[x] Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἦρξε, Βαρβάροις προσάπτοντες. *Diogenes Laertius*, Proœm. Segm. 3.

[y] Page 192. of his *Chronology*.

obſerved[z]. For, to bring Hercules, as they had done Iſis and Oſiris, out of Greece into Egypt, in a manner ſuitable to his character, they pretended that, when he had landed on that inhoſpitable ſhore, and was led by the Natives, crowned with garlands, to be offered up at the altar of Jupiter, he broke looſe from his leaders, and ſlaughtered all who were aſſembled for the Sacrifice: and in this rough manner, I ſuppoſe, taught them to aboliſh thoſe inhuman rites, and to worſhip their chaſtiſer, as a God: which would ſeem to have been the firſt bringing in of club-law into Religion. But, as Herodotus obſerves, the inventor of this fable hath laid his ſtory ſo ill together, that he hath only betrayed his own ignorance of Egyptian Manners. For, from the moſt early time, the inhabitants of the Nile were ſo far from offering up human victims, that they held it unlawful to ſacrifice above three or four ſpecies of animals. But the Egyptians owed them a good turn for this ſlander of *human ſacrifices*; and indeed paid them with uſury. For Herodotus tells us, the Prieſts informed him, that when Menelaus went to Egypt to enquire after Helen, and lay wind-bound in their ports, he cut up two children of the natives, to divine by their entrails[a].

This humour of priority was ſo rooted in the Greeks, that Diodorus ſeems to inſinuate, they always diſputed it with the Egyptians[b]. And ſo far

[z] Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες. εὐκόλως δὲ αὐτέων καὶ ὧδε ὁ μῦθός ἐστι, τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα λέγουσι· ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον, &c. l. ii. c. 45.

[a] Λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔθυσε σφέα ἐποίησε. *Herod.* l. ii. c. 119.

[b] Περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν βίων τῶν γένους ἀρχαιότητος οὐ μόνοι ἀμφισβητοῦσιν Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἰδίους αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες.—p. 6.

indeed is true, that it was one of their moſt early vanities[c]: and though afterwards, on their more intimate acquaintance with Egypt, it was in ſome degree corrected, yet it burſt out again, and laſted, as we ſee, even to the time of Diogenes Laertius. But this is the pleaſant part of the ſtory; The Egyptians were not content to complain, as well they might, that the Greeks had ſtolen away their Gods and Heroes; but they would needs make repriſals on them. Thus, as Diodorus tells us, when they charged the Greeks with taking away their Iſis, to aggravate the theft they pretended that Athens itſelf was originally but an egyptian Colony[d]. This was a home ſtroke: but the Greeks as handſomly returned it; by affirming that one of the egyptian pyramids was built by Rhodope, a grecian whore[e]. This ſetting up one falſe claim to oppoſe another was in the very ſpirit of ancient Paganiſm[f]. So again, the Egyptians

[c] See p. 31, 32.

[d] Καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας δέ φασιν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαϊτῶν τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. *Diod.* p. 17.

[e] Τὴν δὴ μετιξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι. *Herod.* l. ii. c. 134. Their handle for this was a ſtory the Egyptian prieſts told of their king Cheops, the great builder of pyramids, That, having exhauſted his revenues, he raiſed a new fund for his expences by the proſtitution of his DAUGHTER: By which the prieſts, in their figurative way of recording matters, only meant, as I ſuppoſe, that he proſtituted JUSTICE. This interpretation is much confirmed by the character they give of his ſon *Mycerinus*, δίκας δέ σφι παίδων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτας κρίναι. [See *Herod.* l. ii. c. 126, 129.] However the Greeks took it literally.

[f] See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. where we have ſhewn, that the Converts from Gentiliſm, unhappily practiſed it even after they had profeſſed a Religion which condemns all the oblique arts of falſhood, and unjuſt retaliation.

maintaining that civilized Greece was indebted for the mode of Hero-worſhip to them; did, in order to ſupport a juſt claim, which wanted none of theſe arts, pretend to Antiquity moſt extravagantly *high*. The Greeks, not to be behind hand with them, and to ſupport a falſe claim which did want theſe ſort of arts, having pretended that the Egyptians borrowed all from them, brought down the age of theſe diſputed Gods as much too *low*. Unluckily, the great Author, who ſaw the unreaſonable Antiquity of the one ſyſtem, did not advert to the unreaſonable Novelty of the other.

But we are not to think the Greeks firm and ſteady in this natural conſequence of their unjuſt pretenſions. Nothing is ſo inconſtant as falſhood. When, therefore, on the iſſue it was ſeen that all the Records of former times contradicted this novelty; and, conſequently that their darling claim itſelf was likely to be in danger, they ſhifted their ſupport, and then contended, in imitation of the Egyptians, for as extravagant an Antiquity [g].

IV. Hitherto Sir Iſaac Newton was drawn in by Antiquity; which had ſunk with him, and foundered in the treacherous ſoil of Mythology. But the greateſt part of his reaſoning, from theſe Genealogies, ſtands upon an error of his own. The age preceding the deſtruction of Troy is full of the loves and intrigues of the greater Divinities: who ſupplied that expedition from their own loins with Demy-Gods once removed. Sir Iſaac, who ſup-

[g] — Πάλιν δὲ πρῶτόν μνησθῶμεν, ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐνιαύσιος ἔτη χίλια, ἀφ' ὧ γεγονὼς ἐμνήσθη πόλεμος τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλείας ἡλίας ἔξω καθοικεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς πᾶσιν· ὃν δεῖ τὸν διαπεραίνειν· τῶν μὲν ἦν ἤδη ἡ πόλις ἄρχουσα καὶ πάλιν τὸν πόλεμον διαπολεμήσασα ἐλίγελο. *Plato*, vol. iii. p. 108. E.

poſed,

poſed, as indeed he well might from phyſical obſervation, that the Gods left off getting children when they died, concludes, from the mythologic account of their Offspring, that they muſt needs have lived but two or three generations before the war of Troy. But our great Philoſopher took this thing a deal too ſeriouſly. The truth is, he concerned himſelf no farther with the fabulous hiſtory of ancient times than juſt ſerved the purpoſe of his ſyſtem. Otherwiſe he might have found, on the moſt curſory ſurvey, that one of the eſſential attributes of a pagan God was the getting of Baſtards: and that, for one he fairly had in life, his worſhipers fathered an hundred upon him after his deceaſe. This amorous commerce between Heaven and Earth never ceaſed till near the lateſt times of Paganiſm; as we learn from the primitive Apologiſts; who referring to their perpetual intrigues in mythologic ſtory, rally the idolaters, of their time, with great vivacity, on the decrepid old age and ſudden debility of their Gods.

It being then notorious that, in the later ages of Paganiſm, Earth ſwarmed as thick with the progeny of Heaven, as in the early times of that religion, Heaven ſwarmed with the progeny of Earth, Sir Iſaac's calculation, from the time of the ſons and grandſons of the Gods, what muſt needs be their own, is altogether fallacious. But as, in this inquiry, we have ſtill attempted to account for the fables of Antiquity, in order to detect their various impoſtures, and prevent their future miſchief, we ſhall now conſider the original of thoſe in queſtion.

1. The firſt cauſe of this doubly-ſpurious Offſpring, was the contrivance of wives to hide their adultery; of virgins to excuſe their incontinence;

and of parents to cover the diſhonour of their Houſe[h]. The God bore the blame, or rather the Mortal reaped the glory; and Paſſion, as is uſual, was advanced into Piety. Great men too, employed it, (for then Great men had ſome regard for their Race and Name) to conceal the ignominy of a low-born commerce. In a word, both ſexes ſoon learnt the ſweets of a holy intrigue; where a pretended converſe with a God or Goddeſs preſerved the reputation of the weaker, and procured power and authority to the ſtronger ſex. Sometimes the pretended amour was mutually concerted between the real parties: as that of Anchiſes and a Country wench; who, in regard to his honour, was to paſs for a Venus. So Homer[i].

" Divine Æneas brings the Darden race;
" Anchiſes' ſon by Venus' ſtol'n embrace;
" *Born in the ſhades of Ida's ſecret grove,*
" A Mortal mixing with the Queen of Love.
Mr. Pope.

And, in a much later age, the Wife of Philip of Macedon and her Court-gallant. Sometimes again, one of the parties was deceived by the maſk

[h] Plutarch, in Theſeus, tells us, that when the daughter of Pitheus bore Theſeus of Ægeus, her father gave out that the infant was begot by Neptune.

[i] Δαρδανίων αὖτ' ἦρχε, τοὺς παῖς Ἀγχίσαο,
Αἰνείας· τὸν δὲ τέκε δὲ Ἀφροδίτη,
Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι, θεὰ βροτῷ ἰυνηθεῖσα.
Il. β. ver. 819.

Yet this is one of the inſtances Sir Iſaac brings to prove the low age of the Goddeſs Venus. See p. 191. of his *Chronology*.

of

of divinity which the other had impiously assumed, as seems to have been the case of Astiochè[k].

" Two valiant brothers rule th' undaunted throng,
" Ialmen and Ascalaphus the strong:
" Sons of Astyochè the heav'nly fair,
" Whose virgin charms subdu'd the God of war:
" *In Actor's court, as she retir'd to rest,*
" The strength of Mars the blushing maid comprest.
Mr. POPE.

And of the priestess Rhea,

——*Quem Rhea Sacerdos*
FURTIVUM *partu sub luminis edidit auras,*
Mista Deo Mulier[l].

And of Alcmene the mother of Hercules. It was certainly the case of the virtuous Paulina, in the reign of Tiberius: who being made to believe that the God Anubis was fallen in love with her, went to the appointed assignation with a mind equally ballanced by conjugal chastity and superstition. The story is very curious, and told by Josephus[m], in all its circumstances. In short, if we may believe Ovid, who was exquisitely skilled in the mythologic story, this was one of the most common covers of lust and concupiscence. The pretended

[k] Τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος υἷες Ἄρηος,
Οὓς τέκεν Ἀστυόχη, δόμῳ Ἄκτορος Ἀζειδαο,
Παρθένος ΑΙΔΟΙΗ, ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα,
Ἄρηϊ κρατερῷ· ὁ δέ οἱ παρελέξατο ΛΑΘΡΗ. Ιλ. β. ver. 512.

[l] *Æn.* l. vii. ver. 659. See *Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom.* l. i. p. 62.

[m] *Antiq. Jud* l. xviii. c. 3. See, for this general practice, *Herod.* l. i. c. 181.

nurse

nurse of Semele is made to caution her mistress against the addresses of Jupiter, in the following manner:

———*Opta*
Jupiter ut sit, ait: Metuo tamen omnia. MULTI
NOMINE DIVORUM THALAMOS INIERE PUDICOS[n].

2. Another cause was the ambition of the pretenders themselves to heavenly birth, in order to support their authority amongst their barbarous subjects or followers. Thus we are told, that the two Amazon queens, Marthesia and Lampeto, gave out that they were the daughters of Mars, *ne successibus deesset auctoritas* (says the historian) *genitas se* MARTE *prædicabant*[o]. And thus Romulus and Remus pretended to the same relation: But this matter is explained more at large in the discourse on the ancient Lawgivers[p].

3. A third cause was the flattery of sycophants and corrupt Courtiers. To this practice Clepolemus alludes, in his address to Sarpedon:

" Know thy vain self, *nor let their flatt'ry move*,
" Who style thee son of cloud-compelling JOVE.
" How far unlike those chiefs of race divine!
" How vast the diff'rence of their deeds and thine[q]!
Mr. POPE.

[n] *Metam.* l. iii. fab. 3.
[o] *Justin. Hist.* l. ii. c. 4.
[p] *Div. Leg.* vol. i. l. ii. sect. 2.

[q] Ψευδόμενοι δέ σε φασὶ Διὸς γόνον αἰγιόχοιο
Εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδεύεαι ἀνδρῶν
Οἳ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων, Ιλ. ε. ver. 635.

4. A fourth cause was a mere figure of speech common in the eastern phraseology: which, to express the qualities of the subject, called a prudent and powerful monarch [r] the son of Jupiter; a violent and inhuman [s] ravager, or an expert and able seaman, the son of Neptune [t]; a sharper, a banker or a large trader, the son of Mercury; a cultivator of the fine arts, the son of Apollo; a great warrior, the son of Mars; a beautiful woman, the daughter of Venus; and a good physician, the offspring of Æsculapius. Thus Homer,

" In thirty sail the sparkling waves divide,
" Which Podalirius and Machaon guide.

[r] The words of Callimachus, in his hymn to Jupiter, are so apposite to our purpose, that the learned reader will not think them quoted impertinently.

Αὐτίκα χαλκῆας μὲν ὑδείομεν Ἡφαιστοίο,
Τευχηστὰς δ' Ἀρῆος· ἐπακτῆρας δὲ χιτώνης
Ἀρτέμιδος· Φοίβου δὲ, λύρης ἐν εἰδότας ὄιμους.
Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων
Θειότερον. Ver. 76, & *seq.*

[s] Præstantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus, *Jovis filios* poetæ appellaverunt, ut Æacum, & Minoa, & Sarpedona: Ferocissimos et immanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tamquam e mari genitos, *Neptuni filios* dixerunt, Cyclopa, & Cercyona, & Scyrona, & Læstrygonas. *A. Gellius*, lib. xv. c. 21.

[t] Thus in the Argonautic expedition *Typhis* the pilot, and his mate *Ergynus*, were called the sons of Neptune. And when these died in the voyage, they were succeeded by *Ancæus* and *Euphemus*; and both of these, we are told, were the sons of Neptune, likewise. I chose to give the reader this instance, because, from this figure of speech, thus qualifying men any way distinguished in the Argonautic times, Sir Isaac Newton infers the low age of the Grecian Deities.

" To

" To theſe his ſkill their *Parent-God* imparts,
" Divine profeſſors of the healing arts [u].
Mr. Pope.

And that the poet meant no more than that they were excellent in their profeſſion, appears from his giving to all the Egyptians the ſame original, where ſpeaking of their ſuperior eminence in the art of phyſic, he ſays,

" Theſe drugs, ſo friendly to the joys of life,
" Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife;
" Who ſway'd the ſceptre, where prolific Nile
" With various ſimples clothes the fat'ned ſoil—
" From *Pæon ſprung*, their patron God imparts
" To all the Pharian race his healing arts [x].
Mr. Fenton.

5. The laſt cauſe I ſhall mention were the dotages of judicial Aſtrology. But whether the giving to each of their Gods a Star over which to preſide was the *cauſe* or *effect* of this folly may be diſputed; becauſe, I believe, it was ſometimes one, and ſometimes the other. Yet it gave frequent occaſion to call an extraordinary perſon the ſon of that God or Goddeſs under whoſe planet he was born.

Thus have I endeavoured to diſcover and lay open the true cauſes of all that confuſion which goes under the name of the *Hiſtory of the heroic*

[u] Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιῶ δύο παῖδε,
Ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθὼ, Ποδαλείριός θ' ἠδὲ Μαχάων·
Τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο. Il. β. ver. 731.

[x] Ἰητροὶ δὲ ἕκας θ' ἐπιστάμενοι θ' περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης. Od. δ. ver. 231.

ages.

ages. Thoſe falſe facts therefore, and the miſtaken concluſion drawn from them by Sir Iſaac Newton, to ſupport the identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, being detected, general tradition, which vouches for their real diverſity, is reinſtated in its credit: whoſe teſtimony likewiſe, as I have gone along, I have not neglected occaſionally to ſupport by divers corroborating circumſtances.

I might indeed have taken a very different rout though this *Land of Fables*, to the confutation of his hypotheſis; by oppoſing adventure to adventure, and genealogy to genealogy; and have formed upon them, as others have done before me, a ſyſtem of chronology directly oppoſite to our illuſtrious Author's. But this inſtead, of relieving the reader, would only have put him in mind of the old man's complaint. *Incertior ſum multo quam dudum.* I have therefore attempted a way of greater certainty, in an explanation of the general principles and practices of ancient Superſtition; of which, their mythologic hiſtory was the fruits: And by this it appears, that all theſe pretended Facts, on which Sir Iſaac Newton ſupports his hypotheſis of the identity of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, are mere Fables, invented to confound all times and æras, and therefore moſt unhappily choſen for one of the means of regulating and reforming the ancient Chronology.

III.

But although I could have given no reaſonable account of theſe miſtaken facts, from which Sir Iſaac Newton infers the identity, I was ſtill able to prove the falſhood of that ſuppoſed identity, by the conſequences that follow from it: not only by thoſe

thoſe which our great Author would not, but by thoſe which he would, venture to admit. Both of which directly contradict SCRIPTURE and the NATURE OF THINGS. So that, as before I proved the error of his concluſion from the falſhood of his premiſſes; I now begin at the other end, and ſhall prove the falſhood of his premiſſes from the error of his concluſion.

I. I have, in the third and fourth ſections of this book, ſhewn at large, from ſacred Scripture, illuſtrated and confirmed by prophane Antiquity, that Egypt was a polite and powerful Empire at the egreſſion of the Iſraelites. This is alone ſufficient to overthrow Sir Iſaac Newton's whole ſyſtem. But to make the truth ſtill more evident, it may be proper to take a particular, though ſhort, view of the neceſſary conſequences which follow from the ſuppoſed identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris. Theſe may be divided into two parts; ſuch as our great author hath ventured to own; and ſuch, as for their apparent falſhood, he was obliged to paſs over in ſilence.

To begin with the latter. Thoſe very hiſtories on which Sir Iſaac builds his identity, tell us that Oſiris and his wife and ſiſter Iſis were the profeſſed patron and patroneſs of naſcent arts, the very inſtruments of huſbandry being invented in their time; that he firſt taught the culture of the vine[y]; and aboliſhed the bad habit, his ſavage Subjects had of eating one another[z]: and that ſhe taught

[y] Ἐυρεῖν δ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῦ ταύτης καρπῦ προσεπινοήσαι, πρῶτον οἶνῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι τὰς ἄλλας ἀνθρώπους τήν τε φύσιαν τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῦ οἴνυ, καὶ τὴν συνκομιδὴν αὐτῦ καὶ τήρησιν. *Diod. Sic.* l. i. p. 10.

[z] Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. *Id.* page 9.

them

them to ſow corn [a]; and gave them their firſt ſyſtem of laws [b].—But if Oſiris were Seſoſtris, all theſe fine diſcoveries were made but two generations before the Trojan war, and full five hundred years after the egreſſion of the Iſraelites from Egypt: And then what are we to think of the Bible? But the groſs abſurdity of theſe things hindered our Author from receiving them into the conſequences of his new ſyſtem: yet theſe ſtanding on the ſame authority with the conſequences, he hath thought fit to receive, he was obliged to paſs them over in ſilence. But though he be ſilent, we ſhould not. On the contrary, we muſt inſiſt that he hath tranſgreſſed the plaineſt rules of fair reaſoning, which required him, either to receive the conſequences he hath rejected, or to reject thoſe which he hath received; or laſtly, to ſhew, that they ſtand upon a different authority. But he will do nothing of this; he picks and chuſes as he likes beſt, and, what is not for his purpoſe, he leaves without notice. Diodorus ſays, that Oſiris aboliſhed the cuſtom of human ſacrifices; that he built the city of Thebes; that he regulated the worſhip of the Gods; and conquered many nations. Theſe things Sir Iſaac, who takes Oſiris for Seſoſtris, readily admits. The ſame Hiſtorian ſays, that this Oſiris firſt cultivated the vine; reſtrained his Subjects from eating one another; and found out the arts of life; that his wife Iſis invented agriculture, and gave

[a] Εὑρέσης μὲν Ἴσιδος τόν τε τῦ πυρῦ καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπὸν, (φυόμενον μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε καλὰ τὴν χώραν μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης βοτάνης, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) τῦ δὲ Ὀσίριδος ἐπινοησαμένε τὴν τύτων καλλεργασίαν τῶν καρπῶν. *Id. ib.*

[b] Θεῖναι δέ φασι καὶ νόμυς τὴν Ἶσιν, καθ' ὓς ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τὴν ἀνθρώπυς τὸ δικαιον καὶ τῆς ἀθέσμυ βίας καὶ ὕβρεως παυσασθαι, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φόβον. *Id. ib.*

the firſt law to the Egyptians; but all this, Sir Iſaac tacitly rejects. Yet if one part of the Sicilian's account be of better authority than the reſt, it is that, which ſays, *Iſis invented agriculture:* for he expreſly tells us, that ſo it was found written on a large column, in hieroglyphic characters, half conſumed by time, then ſtanding in the city of Nyſa in Arabia[c]: and, without his telling, we are well aſſured, that her *myſteries* had very early brought the knowlege of the fact to all the neighbouring nations.

II. Amongſt the conſequences which the great Author hath thought fit to admit; ſome are theſe, That *inſtruments of war*; *horſes for military ſervice*; *animal food*; *the exact diſtribution of property*; *alphabetic letters*, and *the well peopling of Egypt*, were all the product of the Seſoſtrian age.

1. Vulcan, he ſays, who lived even to the times of the Trojan war, invented Armour, and was, on that account, deified by the Egyptians. His words are theſe. *He* [Vulcan] *reigned there* [in Cyprus and Byblus] *till a very great age, living to the times of the trojan war, and becoming exceeding rich*[d]— *And for aſſiſting the Egyptians with armour, it is probable, that he was deified by his friends the Egyptians, by the name of Baal-Canaan or Vulcan: for Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a king, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos; and Cinyras was an inventor of arts, and found out copper in Cyprus, and the ſmith's hammer,*

[c] Ἐγὼ Ἶσις εἰμὶ ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας — Ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑροῦσα. *Id.* p. 16.

[d] Page 223.

and anvil, and tongs and laver; and employed workmen in making armour, and other things of braſs and iron, and was the only king celebrated in hiſtory for working in metals, and was king of Lemnos, and the huſband of Venus; all which are the characters of Vulcan: and the Egyptians about the time of the death of Cinyras, viz. in the reign of their king Amenophis, built a very ſumptuous temple at Memphis to Vulcan [e].

Here we have a Hero, living till the time of the Trojan war, not only the inventor of arms, but likewiſe of the very tools employed in making them. That this was our Author's meaning, is plain from what he tells us of the Egyptians fighting with clubs in the time of Seſoſtris [f]; which certainly, was for want of better weapons: and ſtill plainer, from what he tells of Vulcan's being made a God; which, certainly, was for a NEW INVENTION. If I ſhould now ſhew, by a formal enumeration of particulars, how all here ſaid, contradicts the BIBLE, the reader would think me diſpoſed to trifle with him. Inſtead of this, I ſhall but juſt obſerve, how ill it agrees with HOMER: who ſeems, indeed, to make Vulcan the Patron-God of the Armourers, but, at the ſame time, makes both him, and the invention, the product of a much earlier age. From the poem of the Trojan war it appears that military weapons had been then of tried uſe; and Vulcan, and his wife Venus, Deities of long ſtanding. Nor can it be objected that the poet hath here given us the picture of his own times. He was a ſtricter obſerver of Decorum: as may be ſeen amongſt other inſtances, from a celebrated one taken notice of by the critics, that though, in his days, Cavalry were common, yet he brings none to the ſiege of Troy,

[e] Page 224, 225. [f] Page 215.

becauſe thoſe times had not yet learnt their uſe. Nor was he leſs knowing than exact; for he was poſſeſſed of the Songs and Poems of his anceſtors; in which he found all the particulars of that famous expedition[g]. Now, if military weapons, at the time

[g] That Homer collected his materials from the old Songs and Poems of his predeceſſors, I conclude from this circumſtance; In thoſe things wherein he might be inſtructed by the records of poeſy, we find him calling upon the Muses to inform him: But when he relates what happened amongſt the Gods, which he could only learn by poetical inſpiration, he goes boldly into his ſtory, without invoking the *Muſes*, at all. Thus when he ſpeaks of the ſquabbles between Jupiter, and his wife Juno, he tells them with as little preparation as if they had been his next door neighbours. But when he comes to give a catalogue of the Grecian forces which went to the ſiege of Troy, the likelieſt of all ſubjects to be found in the old poems of his Anceſtors, he invocates the Muſes in the moſt ſolemn and pompous manner: which therefore I underſtand as only a more figurative intimation, (to give the greater authority to what followed) that he took his account from authentic records, and not from uncertain tradition. And theſe old poems being, in his time, held ſacred, as ſuppoſed to be written by a kind of divine impulſe, an invocation to them, under the name of the Goddeſſes, who were ſaid to have inſpired them, was an extreme natural and eaſy figure:

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι·
Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστε τε πάντα,
Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν·
Οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες —— Ιλ. β. ver. 484.

" Say, Virgins, ſeated round the throne divine,
" All-knowing Goddeſſes! immortal nine!
" Since Earth's wide regions, Heav'n's unmeaſur'd height,
" And Hell's abyſs hide nothing from your ſight,
" We wretched mortals loſt in doubt below,
" But gueſs by rumour, and but boaſt we know,
" Oh, ſay what Heroes. —— Mr. Pope.

Which, put into a plain dreſs, is no more than this, *That as the old records of the poets had preſerved a very circumſtantial account*

of

time of the Trojan war, had been long in uſe amongſt the Greeks, it is hardly poſſible they ſhould have been but juſt invented in Egypt.

2. Our

of the forces warring before Troy, he choſe rather to fetch his accounts from thence than from uncertain and confuſed tradition.

This obſervation will help to explain another particular in Homer, and as remarkable; namely, his ſo frequently telling us, as he is deſcribing perſons or things, that they bore one name amongſt the Gods, and another amongſt Mortals. Which, we may now collect, means no more than that, in thoſe old poems, they were called differently from what they were in the time of Homer. Thus ſpeaking of Titan he ſays,

Ὣχ' Ἐκαλόϝχειρον καλέσασ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
Ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων —— Ιλ. α. ver. 402.

" Then call'd by thee, the monſter Titan came,
" Whom Gods, Briareus, men Ægeon name. Mr. POPE.

So again,

Ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλεως αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε, περίδρομος· ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα
Τὴν ἤτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
Ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης. Ιλ. β. ver. 811.

" Amidſt the plain in ſight of Ilion ſtands
" A riſing mount, the work of human hands,
" This for Myrinnè's Tomb th' immortals know,
" Tho' call'd Bateïa in the world below. Mr. POPE.

And again,

Ἄλλα δ' ἄρ' Ἡφαίστοιο μέγας πόλεμος βαθυδίνης,
Ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον. Ιλ. υ. ver. 73.

" With fiery Vulcan laſt in battle ſtands
" The ſacred flood that rolls on golden ſands;
" Xanthus his name with thoſe of heav'nly birth,
" But call'd Scamander by the ſons of earth. Mr. POPE.

2. Our author makes Seſoſtris's conqueſt of Libya the occaſion of furniſhing Egypt with Horſes. *After the conqueſt of Libya* (ſays he) *by which Egypt was furniſhed with horſes, and furniſhed Solomon and his friends, he prepared a fleet*, &c [h]. The illuſtrious Writer is here ſpeaking of the original of thoſe civil advantages, for which ancient Egypt was ſo much celebrated. He had before, and afterwards, told us his thoughts of their *aſtronomy*, *navigation*, *letters*, *names*, and *weapons of war*. We cannot therefore but underſtand what he here ſays, of the *Libyan horſes*, to mean, that the conqueſt of that country was the firſt occaſion of Egypt's abounding in Horſe. But this directly contradicts holy Scripture, which aſſures us that they abounded in Horſe long before. Their purſuit of the Iſraelites is thus deſcribed,—*And Pharaoh made ready his chariot, and took his people with him. And he took ſix*

Now ſuppoſing theſe names were not taken by Homer from the old poems, no reaſonable account can be given for his ſo particular an information of this circumſtance. But allow them to be taken thence, and the reaſon is evident. It was to remind the reader, from time to time, that he ſtill kept their own venerable records in his eye; which would give weight and authority to what he delivered. The old names are called by Homer, the *Names uſed by the immortals*, on theſe three accounts: 1. As they were the names employed in the old ſacred poems. 2. As they were in uſe in the firſt heroic ages. And 3. As they were of barbarous and Egyptian original; from whence came the mythologic hiſtory of the Gods. Two lines of the pretended Chaldaic oracles, collected by Patricius, explain this whole matter well, as they ſhew the great reverence of the Ancients for the *Religion of names*:

Ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,
Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόματα παρ' ἑκάστοις θεόδοτα.

Never change barbarous Names; for every nation hath Names which it received from God.

[h] Page 215.

hundred

hundred choſen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.—The Egyptians purſued after them (all the horſes and chariots of Pharaoh and his horſemen and his army.)—And the Egyptians purſued after them to the midſt of the ſea, even all Pharaoh's horſes, his chariots and his horſemen [i]. Sir Iſaac ſeems to have been aware of this evidence againſt him, and endeavours to turn it on the ſide of his hypotheſis. *In the days of* MOSES (ſays he) *all the chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh purſued* Iſrael, WERE BUT SIX HUNDRED. *Exod.* xiv. 7 [k]. This is a ſtrange miſtake. The *ſix hundred*, mentioned in the place quoted, are expreſly ſaid to be the *choſen chariots*, that is the king's guard; for over and above theſe, *all the chariots of Egypt*, an indefinite number, were in the purſuit. Beſides, the number of horſes is not to be eſtimated from the chariots, becauſe there was an army of *horſemen* likewiſe in this expedition.

However, by Sir Iſaac's own confeſſion it appears, that Egypt abounded with Horſe much earlier than the time he here aſſigns. For the vaſt number of Philiſtim Horſe brought into the field, in the ſecond year of the reign of Saul, in an army conſiſting of thirty thouſand chariots and ſix thouſand horſemen, came all, in our author's opinion, from Egypt. *The Canaanites* (ſays he) *had their Horſes from Egypt; and——from the great army of the Philiſtims againſt Saul, and the great number of their Horſes I ſeem to gather that the ſhepherds had newly relinquiſhed Egypt, and joined them* [l].—— Now if they had ſuch plenty of horſe in the time

[i] EXOD. xiv. ver. 6, 7—9—23. [k] Page 167.
[l] Ibid.

of Saul, how was it that they were firſt furniſhed from Libya in the time of Seſac?

But another circumſtance in ſacred Hiſtory will ſhew us, that Egypt, which ſupplied Canaan, abounded in Horſe ſtill much earlier. In the law of Moſes, we find this prohibition, perſonally directed to their future King: *he ſhall not multiply horſes to himſelf, nor cauſe the people to return to* EGYPT, TO THE END THAT HE SHOULD MULTIPLY HORSES: *foraſmuch as the Lord hath ſaid unto you, Ye ſhall henceforth return no more that way*[m]. Now the reaſon, here given, being to prevent all commerce with Egypt, we muſt conclude, if it appear that Egypt, at this time, ſupplied other nations with horſes, that the law extended to their Judges as well as Kings. But they did ſupply other nations. For we find the confederate Canaanites (who, by Sir Iſaac's confeſſion, had their horſes from Egypt) warring againſt Joſhua, *they and all their hoſts with them, much people, even as the ſand that is upon the ſea-ſhore in multitude, with Horſes and chariots very many*[n]. The law therefore did certainly reſpect the Judges. And the reaſoning is confirmed by fact. For Joſhua, when he had defeated theſe confederate hoſts, *houghed their Horſes and burnt their chariots with fire*[o], according to the commandment of the Lord: obſerving it in the ſame rigorous manner in which it was obeyed by their Kings, to whom the law was perſonally addreſſed: For thus Ahab deſtroyed the horſes and chariots of Benhadad[p]. So that I now conclude the other way from this Law, that a general traffic with Egypt for Horſes was very common

[m] DEUT. xvii. ver. 16. [n] Jos. xi. ver. 4. [o] ver. 9.
[p] 1 KINGS xx. ver. 21.

in

in the times of Moſes and Joſhua. Conſequently Egypt was not firſt furniſhed with Horſes from Libya in the time of Sir Iſaac Newton's Seſoſtris.

But it may give ſtrength to this argument, as well as light to the ſacred Text, to inquire more particularly into the reaſons of this PROHIBITION; which we ſhall find ſo weighty and various as to appear worthy of its Author, and accommodated only to a Law of divine original.

1. The firſt reaſon (which was expreſly delivered with the Law) is, properly, RELIGIOUS. He [the King] ſays the Law, *ſhall not multiply Horſes to himſelf, nor cauſe the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he ſhould multiply Horſes: foraſmuch as the Lord had ſaid unto you, Ye ſhall henceforth return no more that way.* i. e. He ſhould not eſtabliſh a body of Cavalry, becauſe this could not be effected without ſending into Egypt, with which people the Lord had forbidden any communication, as, of all foreign commerce, that was the moſt dangerous to true Religion [q],

When Solomon had violated this Law, and multiplied Horſes to ſuch exceſs that, we are told, he *had forty thouſand ſtalls of Horſes for his chariots, and twelve thouſand Horſemen* [r], it was ſoon attended with thoſe fatal conſequences which the Law had foretold. For this wiſeſt of Kings having likewiſe, in violation of another Law of Moſes, married Pharaoh's daughter [s], (the early fruits of this commerce) and then, by a repetition of the ſame crime, but a tranſgreſſion of another law, had

[q] See the next ſection.

[r] 1 KINGS iv. ver. 26.

[s] 2 KINGS iii. ver. 1.

eſpouſed

eſpouſed more *ſtrange women*[t]; they firſt of all, in defiance of a fourth Law, purſuaded him to build them idol Temples for their uſe; and afterwards, againſt a fifth Law, ſtill more fundamental, brought him to erect other Temples for his own[u]. Now the original of all this miſchief was the forbidden traffic with Egypt for Horſes: For thither, we are told, the agents of Solomon were ſent to mount his Cavalry. *And Solomon gathered chariots and horſemen: and he had a thouſand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thouſand horſemen, which he placed in the chariot-cities, and with the king at Jeruſalem—And he had Horſes brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price. And they fetcht up and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for ſix hundred ſhekels of ſilver, and an Horſe for an hundred and fifty*[x]. Nay, this great King even turned factor for the neighbouring monarchs. *And ſo brought they out Horſes for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria by their means*[y]. This opprobrious commerce was kept up by his Succeſſors; and attended with the ſame pernicious conſequences. Iſaiah, with his uſual majeſty, denounces the miſchiefs of this traffic; and foretels that one of the good effects of leaving it, would be the forſaking their idolatries. *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and ſtay on* HORSES *and truſt in chariots, becauſe they are many; and in* HORSEMEN, *becauſe they are very ſtrong: but they look not unto the holy one of Iſrael, neither ſeek the Lord. — For thus hath the Lord ſpoken unto me: Like as the lion, and the young lion, roaring on his prey, when a multitude of ſhepherds is called forth againſt him, he will not be afraid of their voice,*

[t] 1 KINGS xi. ver. 1.
[u] 1 KINGS xi. ver. 7, 8.
[x] 2 CHRON. i. ver. 16, 17.
[y] 2 CHRON. i. ver. 17.

nor

nor abaſe himſelf for the noiſe of them: ſo ſhall the Lord of hoſts come down to fight for mount Zion, and for the hill thereof — Turn ye unto him from whom the children of Iſrael have deeply revolted. For in that day every man ſhall caſt away his idols of ſilver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a ſin[z].

2. The ſecond reaſon againſt *multiplying Horſes* I take to have been properly POLITICAL. The Iſraelites, ſeparated by GOD for his peculiar People, under his government as King, muſt needs have been deſigned for the proprietors of one certain country. Accordingly the land of Canaan, the poſſeſſion of the *ſeven nations*, was marked out for their proper inheritance. Within theſe limits they were to be confined; it being foreign to the nature of their Inſtitution to make conqueſts, or to extend their dominion. But the expulſion of the *ſeven nations* being, as we ſhall ſee preſently, to be effected by the extraordinary aſſiſtance of their KING, JEHOVAH, their ſucceſſes muſt, of courſe, be full and rapid. But nothing is ſo impatient of bounds as a Multitude fleſht with eaſy victories: the projects of ſuch a people are always going on from conqueſt to conqueſt; as appears from the Mahometan Arabs, under the ſame circumſtances, led out to conqueſt by a *falſe* Prophet, as the Iſraelites by a *true*. Now to defeat this ſo natural a diſpoſition, in a nation not deſigned for Empire, a Law is given againſt MULTIPLYING HORSES; than which nothing can be conceived more effectual. The Country that confined them, was rocky and mountainous, and therefore unfit for the breed and ſuſtentation of horſe. Telemachus is commended

[z] Is. xxxi. ver. 1, 4, 6, 7.

for

for giving this reaſon for refuſing the horſes of Menelaus:

Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei;
Non eſt aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis
Porrectus ſpatiis, nec multæ prodigus herbæ [a].

Beſides, when they had once gotten poſſeſſion of theſe mountains, they had little need of horſe to preſerve their conqueſt; as all ſkilled in military matters very well underſtand [b]. The Iſraelites therefore, had they been either wiſe or pious, would ſoon have found that their true ſtrength, as well political as religious, lay in Infantry: As that of Egypt, for a contrary reaſon, was in their Cavalry. Hence that people, who well underſtood their advantages, ſo induſtriouſly propagated the breed of Horſes, as the ſureſt defence of their territories. There is a remarkable paſſage, in the hiſtory of theſe times, to ſupport what I here advance. When Benhadad, the gentile king of Syria, whoſe forces conſiſted of chariots and horſemen, had warred, with ill ſucceſs, againſt the king of Iſrael, the Miniſters, in a council of war, deliver their advice to him in theſe terms: *Their Gods are Gods of the* HILLS, *therefore they were ſtronger than we: but let us fight againſt them in the* PLAIN, *and ſurely we ſhall be ſtronger than they.* — *And he hearkened*

[a] Hor.

[b] The late biſhop Sherlock ſuppoſed, that "the divine original of the Law might be inferred from this prohibition of the uſe of Cavalry: for that nothing but a divine command could have prevailed with Moſes *to forbid the princes of his country the uſe of Horſes and Chariots for their defence.*" [4th Differ. p. 329. Ed. 4.] But I chuſe not to inſiſt on this, as the uſe of Cavalry could not be neceſſary for their defence after they were in poſſeſſion of the country.

unto

unto their voice and did ſo[c]. From this paſſage I collect 1. That the army of Iſrael, conſiſting all of Infantry, had choſen the ſituation of the hills; and this with proper military ſkill. 2. That their conſtant ſucceſs in ſuch a diſpoſition of their forces occaſioned this advice of the Miniſters of Benhadad. Theſe men poſſeſſed with the general notion of local tutelary Deities, finding the arms of Iſrael always ſucceſsful on the hills, took it for the more eminent manifeſtation of the power of their Gods. *Their Gods*, ſay they, *are Gods of the hills.* Their ſuperſtition dictated the firſt part of their advice; and their ſkill in war, the ſecond,—*let us fight againſt them in the plain.* The operations of the war had been hitherto moſt abſurd: they had attacked an army of Infantry with one of Cavalry, on hills and in defiles.

But this want of Horſe, (which kind of military force neither the product of their country could well ſupport, nor the defence of it, need) would effectually prevent any attempt of extending their dominions either into the leſſer Aſia, Meſopotamia, or Egypt. All which neighbouring countries being ſtretched out into large and extended plains, could not be ſafely invaded without a numerous Cavalry. In this view, therefore, the wiſdom of the Law can never be ſufficiently admired.

3. But the third reaſon of the prohibition, was evidently to afford a laſting MANIFESTATION OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE by which the Iſraelites were conducted, in taking poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan. I have ſhewn that, when

[c] 1 KINGS xx. ver. 23, *& ſeq.*

once

once ſettled, they might very well defend the poſſeſſion without the help of Cavalry: But to conquer it without Cavalry, and from a warlike people abounding in Horſe, was more than a raw unpractiſed Infantry could ever have performed alone. No more need be ſaid to convince military men of the extreme difference of the two caſes. To others it may be proper to obſerve,

1. That in the invaſion of a country, the invaded may chuſe their ground; and as it is their intereſt to avoid coming to a deciſive action, ſo, being amidſt their own native ſtores and proviſions, they have it in their power to decline it. On the contrary, the invader muſt attack his enemies where-ever he finds them poſted. For, by reaſon of the ſcantineſs and uncertainty of ſupplies in an enemy's country, he has not, for the moſt part, time to draw them, by military ſtratagems, from their advantages. We find this verified in the hiſtory of Benhadad, mentioned above. He had invaded Iſrael; but this people diſpoſing of their Infantry with ſoldier-like addreſs, he was forced to fight them on the *hills*, where only they were to be met with. After many unſucceſsful engagements, his Miniſters propoſed a new plan of operation; to attack the enemy in the *plains*. And truly the advice was good: but how to put it in execution was the queſtion; for they being the aſſailants, the Iſraelites were maſters of their ground. So that after all, there was no other way of bringing them into the plains but by beating them from the hills. And there they muſt have ſtuck, till famine and deſertion had ended the quarrel. In this exigence, their blaſphemy againſt the God of Iſrael enabled them to put their counſels, againſt him, in execution. They fancied,

cied, according to the ſuperſtition of that time, and ſo gave out, that *he was God of the hills, but not of the valleys.* His omnipotence being thus diſputed, He placed his people in the plains; and ſent his Prophet to predict the coming vengeance on his enemies. *And there came a man of* GOD, *and ſpake unto the king of Iſrael, and ſaid, Thus ſaith the Lord, Becauſe the Syrians have ſaid, the Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord*[d].

2. Secondly, we may obſerve, that the poſſeſſors of mountainous regions may ſo diſpoſe their Fortreſſes, with which they cover their country, as to make an invader's Cavalry abſolutely uſeleſs: and conſequently to have no occaſion for any of their own. But the invaders of ſuch a place where Cavalry is in uſe, and conſequently the defences diſpoſed in a contrary manner, ſo as beſt to favour the operations of Horſe, the invaders, I ſay, go to certain deſtruction without a body of Horſe to ſupport their Infantry. This then being the very ſituation of affairs when the Iſraelites invaded Canaan, and conquered it, (for till then they had not begun to tranſgreſs the Law againſt Cavalry) I conclude that they muſt have been MIRACULOUSLY aſſiſted. The Arabians, in a like expedition, thought it ſo extraordinary a thing to conquer without Horſe, that Mahomet made it a law, when this happened, for the ſpoils not to be divided according to the ſtated rule, but for all to go to the Prophet himſelf, as a *deodand* or a gift from God alone[e]. Yet

[d] 1 KINGS xx. ver. 28.

[e] *Et id, quod conceſſit in prædam Deus legato ſuo ex illis, Non impuliſtis ſuper illud ullos equos, neque camelos* [i. e. non acquiſitis

Yet Mahomet never pretended to make his conquests without Horse, but used them on every occasion of need.

To return, we see then how little reason Sir Isaac Newton had for saying that Sesostris's conquest of Libya was the occasion of Egypt's being furnished with horse, so as to supply the neighbouring countries. But the instance was particularly ill chosen: for Sesostris, whom he makes the author of this benefit to Egypt, did, by his filling the country with canals, defeat the chief use and service of Cavalry; with which, till this time, Egypt had abounded; but which, from henceforth we hear no more of[f].

3. Again, in consequence of the same system, our great author seems to think that animal food was not customary amongst the Egyptian till about this time. *The Egyptians* (says he) *originally lived on the fruits of the earth, and fared hardly, and abstained from animals, and* THEREFORE *abominated shepherds: Menes* [the third from Sesostris] *taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture and carpets, and brought in amongst them a sumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life*[g].

tis illud ope equorum aut camelorum] *Sed Deus prævalere facit legatos suos, super quem vult: nam Deus est super omnem rem potens.* Sur. 59. Alcor. ver. 6.

[f] Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ —— τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, πάσας ἔτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὥρυσσον ἐποίεόν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τοπρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην, καὶ ἀμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς πᾶσα, ἄνιππος, καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε. *Herod. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 108.

[g] Page 241.

Now, whoever brought in the *eating of fleſh*, and a *voluptuous life*, did it, (as we are aſſured from Scripture) before the time of Joſeph. I have proved, in my account of their Phyſicians as delivered in the Bible, that they were then a luxurious people[h]. From the dream of Pharaoh's baker, compared with Joſeph's interpretation[i], it appears, they eat animal food; and, from the ſtory of Joſeph's entertainment of his brethren, it appears, that their enmity to ſhepherds was not occaſioned by theſe Hebrews' eating animal food, which, Sir Iſaac ſays, the Egyptians abſtained from. *And he ſaid to the ruler of his houſe, Bring theſe men home, and* SLAY, *and make ready: for theſe men ſhall dine with me at noon. And the man did as Joſeph bade: and the man brought the men into Joſeph's houſe—and they ſet on for him by himſelf, and for them by themſelves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themſelves, becauſe the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians.—And he took and ſent meſſes unto them from before him*[k]. Here, we ſee the common proviſion for their entertainment, was animal food. And no one can doubt whether Joſeph conformed to the Egyptian diet. He ſat ſingle out of ſtate, with regard to the Egyptians; the Egyptians ſat

[h] See p. 42, and following, of this volume.

[i] *And the chief baker ſaid unto Joſeph, I alſo was in my dream, and behold I had three white baſkets on my head, and in the uppermoſt baſket there was of all manner of* BAKE-MEATS *for Pharaoh, and the birds did eat them out of the baſket.—And Joſeph anſwered and ſaid—The three baſkets are three days. Yet within three days ſhall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and ſhall hang thee on a tree; and the birds ſhall eat thy fleſh from off thee.* GEN. xl. ver. 17, *&c ſeq.*

[k] GEN. xliii. ver. 16, 17—32—34.

apart, with regard to the Shepherds; and Both were ſupplied from the Governor's table, which was furniſhed from the Steward's ſlaughter-houſe. The truth of this is farther ſeen from the murmuring of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, when they ſaid, *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we ſat by the* FLESH-POTS, *and when we did eat bread to the full*[l]. Now we can ſcarce ſuppoſe the Egyptians would permit their ſlaves, whom they kept in ſo hard oppreſſion, to riot in *fleſh-pots*, while, as Sir Iſaac ſuppoſes, *they themſelves fared hardly and abſtained from Animals.*

4. Again, he ſuppoſes, that the exact diviſion of the land of Egypt into Property was firſt made in the time of Seſoſtris. *Seſoſtris* (ſays he) *upon his returning home, divided Egypt by meaſure amongſt the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to ſurveying and geometry*[m]. And in another place, he brings down the original of geometry ſtill lower; even as late as Mæris, the fifth from Seſoſtris. *Mæris* (ſays he)—*for preſerving the diviſion of Egypt into equal ſhares amongſt the ſoldiers—wrote a book of ſurveying, which gave a beginning to geometry*[n]. Let the reader now conſider, whether it be poſſible to reconcile this with the following account of Joſeph's adminiſtration. *And Joſeph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians ſold* EVERY MAN HIS FIELD, *becauſe the famine prevailed over them: ſo the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof. Only the land of the Prieſts bought he not: for the Prieſts had a portion aſſigned them of*

[l] EXOD. xvi. ver. 3. [m] Page 218. [n] Page 248.

Pharaoh,

Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; therefore they ſold not their lands. Then Joſeph ſaid unto the people, Behold I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh: lo here is the ſeed for you, and ye ſhall ſow the land. And it ſhall come to paſs, in the increaſe, that ye ſhall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts ſhall be your own, for ſeed of the field, and for your food and for them of your own houſholds, and for food for your little ones. And Joſeph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh ſhould have the fifth part; except the land of the Prieſts only, which became not Pharaoh's[o]. Here we have the deſcription of a country very exactly ſet out and ſettled in private property. It would afford room for variety of reflexions: I ſhall confine myſelf to the following. If private property had not been, at this time eſtabliſhed with the utmoſt order and exactneſs, what occaſion had Joſeph to recur to that troubleſome expedient of tranſplanting the People, reciprocally, from one end of Egypt to the other? his purpoſe in it is evident: it was to ſecure Pharaoh in his new property, by defeating the ill effects of that fondneſs which people naturally have to an old paternal inheritance. But what fondneſs have men for one ſpot, rather than another, of lands lying in common, or but newly appropriated? Were the Egyptians at this time, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to ſuppoſe, in the ſtate of the unſettled Nomades, they would have gone from one end of Egypt to the other, without Joſeph's ſending; and without the leaſt regret for any thing they had left behind.

But without weakening the great man's conjecture by Scripture-hiſtory, How does it appear

[o] GEN. xlvii. 20, *& ſeq.*

it ſeems moſt probable that they learnt it of the Egyptians. But, for a full confutation of this fancy, and of the arguments that ſupport it, I am content to refer the reader to what I have occaſionally obſerved, though to other purpoſes, in my diſcourſe of the Egyptian hieroglyphics[t].

6. Laſtly, he obſerves, that *Egypt was ſo thinly peopled before the birth of Moſes, that Pharaoh ſaid of the Iſraelites*, "Behold the people of the chil-"dren of Iſrael are more and mightier than we:" *and that to prevent their multiplying, and growing too ſtrong, he cauſed their male children to be drowned*[u]. Yet this country, *ſo thinly peopled at the birth of Moſes*, was, we find from Scripture, ſo vaſtly populous, by the time Moſes was ſent upon his miſſion, that it could keep in ſlavery ſix hundred thouſand men beſides children[x]; at a time, when they were moſt powerfully inſtigated to recover their liberty; which, yet after all, they were unable to effect but by the frequent deſolation of the hand of God upon their inſolent and cruel maſters. And is this to be reconciled with Sir Iſaac's notion of their preceding thinneſs? But he likewiſe ſupports himſelf on Scripture. Egypt was ſo thinly peopled—*that Pharaoh ſaid—Behold the people of the children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we.* Strange interpretation! The Scripture relation of the matter is in theſe words: *And Pharaoh ſaid unto his people, Behold the people of the children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wiſely with them: leſt they multiply, and it come to paſs, that when there falleth out any war, they join alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and ſo get them up*

[t] See page 69, & *ſeq.* [u] Page 186. [x] Exod. xii. 37.

out of the land. Therefore they did ſet over them Taſk-maſters, to afflict them with their burdens. — But the more they afflicted them, the more they grew and multiplied[y]. By the whole turn of this relation it appears, that the *more and mightier* ſignify only *more prolific and healthy.* And that was in truth the caſe. The Egyptians of this time, as we have ſhewn[z], were very luxurious: While the manners of the Iſraelites concurred with their condition to render them hardy and fruitful, by an abſtemious and laborious courſe of life. On this account the king expreſſes his fear. But of what? certainly not that they ſhould ſubdue their maſters; but that they ſhould *eſcape out of bondage:* which, even to the very moment of their egreſſion, was the ſole object of the Egyptian's fear.—*Leſt* (ſays he) *they multiply; and it come to paſs, that, when there falleth out any war, they join alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and* SO GET THEM UP OUT OF THE LAND. This was a reaſonable apprehenſion: for Egypt was in every age ſubject to the incurſions of that fierce and barbarous people the Arabians, on that very ſide which the Iſraelites inhabited: who, poſſeſſing their own Diſtrict, unmixed with Egyptians, had the keys of the country in their hands, to admit or exclude an invader at their pleaſure. A circumſtance which would make the ſmalleſt province formidable to the moſt powerful kingdom. To prevent then, ſo probable a danger, their taſk-maſters are ordered to increaſe their oppreſſions; and they groan under them without power to reſiſt, till ſet free by the all powerful hand of GOD.

Thus we ſee how Sir Iſaac Newton's ſyſtem ſtands with regard to SACRED ANTIQUITY. What

[y] EXOD. i. 9, *& ſeq.* [z] See p. 42, and 47.

is ſtill worſe, it is not only repugnant to the Bible, but even to ITSELF.

III. We have obſerved, that, by the caſual confounding of the proper actions of Oſiris and Seſoſtris with one another, each came to be, at the ſame time, the INVENTOR, and the PERFECTER, of the arts of life. This, which might have led our Author, the moſt penetrating of all writers, to the diſcovery of the ancient error in their hiſtory, ſerved only to confirm him in his own; as placing the invention of civil arts low enough for the ſupport of his general Chronology. However it is very certain, that the making their *invention* and *perfection* the product of the ſame age, is directly contrary to the very NATURE OF THINGS. Which, if any one doubt, let him examine the general hiſtory of mankind; where he will ſee that the advances, from an emerging barbarity, through civil policy, to refined arts and poliſhed manners, when not given them, ready fitted to their hands, by neighbouring nations forward to impart them, have been ever the ſlow and gradual progreſs of many and ſucceſſive ages. Yet theſe, our illuſtrious Author (in conſequence of the ſuppoſed identity of his two Heroes) makes to ſpring up, to flouriſh, and to come to their perfection, all within the compaſs of one ſingle reign. Or rather, which is ſtill more intolerable, he makes this extraordinary age of Seſoſtris to be diſtinguiſhed from all others by an inſeparable mixture of ſavage and poliſhed manners. Which is ſo unnatural, ſo incredible, ſo impoſſible a circumſtance, that were there only this, to oppoſe againſt his ſyſtem, it would be a ſufficient demonſtration of its falſhood.

To ſhew then, that Sir Iſaac Newton by fairly and honeſtly taking in theſe conſequences of his ſyſtem,

ſyſtem, hath indeed ſubjected it to this diſgrace, I ſhall give two inſtances. The one taken from his account of the *ſtate of War*, the other of the *ſtate of Architecture*, during this period.

1. Our Author having made the egyptian Hercules, to be Seſoſtris, is forced to own that the war in Libya was carried on with clubs. *After theſe things, he* [Hercules or Seſoſtris] *invaded Libya, and fought the Africans with clubs, and thence is painted with a club in his hand.* Here, the great Writer hath given us the very picture of the Iroquoſian or Huron Savages warring with a neighbouring tribe. And without doubt intended it for ſuch a repreſentation; as appears, firſt, from his immediately adding theſe words of Hyginus: *Afri & Ægyptii* PRIMUM *fuſtibus dimicaverunt, poſtea Belus Neptuni filius gladio belligaratus eſt, unde* bellum *dictum eſt*[a]. For we are to obſerve that the title of the chapter, in which theſe words are found, is, *quis quid invenerit*[b]: and ſecondly, from his ſuppoſing Vulcan, (whom he makes to live at this time) the inventor of military weapons. Yet this, according to the great Author, was after Seſoſtris's conqueſt of the Troglodytes and Ethiopians: it was after his Father's building a fleet on the Red ſea, with which he coaſted Arabia Felix; went into the Perſian Gulph, and penetrated even into India[c]: and but a little before Seſoſtris's great expedition for the conqueſt of the habitable world. At which time we ſee him ſet out with the moſt ſplended retinue of a Court, and the moſt dreadful apparatus of War; we find him defeat great armies; ſubdue mighty kingdoms; (amongſt the reſt Judæa, where all kind of military arms of-

[a] Page 215. [b] FAB. cclxxiv. [c] Page 214, 215.

fenſive

fenſive and defenſive had been in uſe for many ages) people large cities; and leave behind him many ſtately monuments of his power and magnificence.

2. Thus again, Sir Iſaac tells us, that Toſorthrus or Æſculapius, an Egyptian of the time of Seſoſtris, diſcovered the art of building with ſquare ſtones[d]. Yet his contemporary, Seſoſtris, he tells us, *divided Egypt into* 36 *nomes or counties, and dug a canal from the Nile, to the head city of every nome; and with the earth dug out of it, he cauſed the ground of the city to be raiſed higher, and built a temple in every city for the worſhip of the nome*; *&c*[e]. And ſoon after, Amenophis, the third from him, *built Memphis*; *and ordered the worſhip of the Gods of Egypt*; *and built a palace at Abydus, and the Memnonia at This and Suſa, and the magnificent temple of Vulcan in Memphis*[f].

Now,

[d] — *The building with ſquare ſtones* (ſays he) *being found out by* Toſorthrus, *the* Æſculapius *of* Egypt. Page 247.

[e] Page 218.

[f] The reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee Homer's ideas of this matter: who ſuppoſes the ſcience of architecture to be arrived at great perfection in the time of the Trojan war. For ſpeaking of the habitation of Paris (whom, as his great tranſlator rightly obſerves, Homer makes to be *a bel-eſprit and a fine genius*) he deſcribes it in this manner:

Ἕκτωρ δὲ πρὸς δῶματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο βεβήκει
ΚΑΛΑ, τά ῥ' αὐτὸς ἔτευξε σὺν ἀνδράσιν, οἵ τότ' ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ
Ἦσαν ἐπὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ἄνδρες,
Οἵ οἱ ἐποίησαν ΘΑΛΑΜΟΝ, καὶ ΔΩΜΑ, καὶ ΑΥΛΗΝ. *Il. ζ.* 310.

Here, we ſee a magnificent palace, built by profeſt architects, with all its ſuits of apartments; as different from the deſcription of Hector's dwelling, as the character of the maſters from one another; of which laſt he only ſays, it was a commodious *habitation.*

Now,

Now, in this odd mixture of barbarity and politeness, strength and impotence, riches and poverty, there is such an inconsistency in the character of ages, as shews it to be the mere invention of professed fabulists, whose known talent it is to

" Make former times shake hands with latter,
" And that which was before come after;

though composed of tales so ill concerted, and contradictory, as shews, they wrote upon no consistent plan, but each as his own temporary views and occasions required.

When I entered on a confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's *Egyptian Chronology*, (for with that only I have here to do) I was willing for the greater satisfaction of the reader to set his arguments for the *identity of Osiris and Sesostris*, on which that Chronology was founded, in the strongest and clearest light. On this account I took them as I found them collected, ranged in order, and set together in one view, with the greatest advantage of representation, by the very worthy and learned Master of the Charter-house, in a professed apology for our great Philosopher. But this liberty the learned writer hath been pleased to criticise in the latin edition [g] of the tracts to which that apology was prefixed—" I am not ignorant (says he [h]) that " the

Αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανε δόμους ΕΥ ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΝΤΑΣ
Ἕκτορος. — *Ibid.* 497.

[g] *De veris annis D. N. Jesu Christi natali & emortuali Dissertationes duæ Chronologicæ.*

" [h] Non nescimus nuperrime accidisse, ut Vir ingenio & " eruditione præstans, quum ratus sit ad *divinam legationem* " *Mosis*

" the author of *the Divine Legation* ſuppoſing it, " ſome how or other, to concern Moſes's divine miſ- " ſion, to prove that Oſiris, was not the ſame with " Seſoſtris, hath lately turned all that is here ſaid, " into ridicule, by a compariſon made between " the fabulous ARTHUR and WILLIAM the Nor- " man; who, he ſays, may be made one by as " good reaſons (though they have ſcarce any thing " alike or in common with one another) as thoſe " which we have brought to confound Oſiris with " Seſoſtris: and on this point he draws out a diſ- " putation through ſeventy pages and upwards; in " which, however, he neither denies nor confutes, " but only laughs at what we have here ſaid of " Seſoſtris. It is true indeed that ſome other of " Newton's aſſertions he does oppoſe; ſuch as " thoſe concerning the late invention of arts, " arms, and inſtruments by ſome certain king; " and in this part of the argument he gets the " better. For that theſe things were found out " by the Egyptians long before the age of Seſoſ-

" *Moſis demonſtrandum* aliquo modo pertinere, ut probetur " Oſiris non eſſe idem cum Seſoſtri, omnia huc allata in luſum " jocumque verterit, inſtituta comparatione Arthuri illius fa- " buloſi cum Wilhelmo Normanno, quos æquè bonis ratione- " bus in unum hominem conflari poſſe ait (quamvis nihil fere " habeant inter ſe commune aut ſimile) ac nos Oſirin cum " Seſoſtri confundimus. Et de hac re diſputationem in 70 pa- " ginas & ultra producit. In qua tamen hæc noſtra de Seſoſtri " neque negat neque refellit, ſed irridet. Alia vero quædam " Newtoni dicta de ſero inventis ab aliquo rege artibus, armis, " inſtrumentis oppugnat, & ea quidem parte cauſæ vincit. " Nam ut iſta longe ante Seſoſtris ætatem apud Ægyptios re- " perta ſint, Scriptura ſacra jubet credere; ab ullo unquam " regum inventa eſſe haud ita certum. Sed ea prius non " attigimus, ut quæ nihil ad propoſitum noſtrum attinent, " neque nunc nos movent, ut pedem retrahamus ab iſta Cl. " Newtoni concluſione Seſacum, Seſoſtrim, Oſirin & Bacchum " fuiſſe. Lite jam conteſtata judicent eruditi." *In Dedic.* p. xii. xiii.

" tris

" tris holy Writ commands us to believe: but " whether found out by any of their kings is not " ſo certain. However, theſe were matters we ne- " ver touched upon, as relating nothing to our " purpoſe; nor do they yet induce us to recede " from that concluſion of the famous Newton, that " Seſac was Seſoſtris, Oſiris, and Bacchus. But " the cauſe being now brought before the public, " let the learned determine of it." Thus far this candid and ingenuous writer.

He ſays, *the author of the Divine Legation ſuppoſes that it ſome how or other concerns Moſes's divine miſſion to prove Oſiris not the ſame with Seſoſtris*; which ſeems to imply that this learned perſon doth not ſee HOW it concerns it. And yet afterwards he owns, *that Scripture* (meaning the writings of Moſes) *will not allow us to believe with Sir Iſaac, that the invention of arts, arms, and inſtruments was ſo late as the time of Seſoſtris.* Now it follows (as I have ſhewn) by certain conſequence, that, if Oſiris and Seſoſtris were one and the ſame, then the invention of arts was as late as the time of Seſoſtris. But this contradicting Scripture or the writings of Moſes, as the learned perſon himſelf confeſſeth, the reader ſees plainly, HOW *it concerns Moſes's miſſion to prove Oſiris not the ſame with Seſoſtris.*

The learned writer, ſpeaking of the compariſon I had made between Arthur and William the Norman, ſays, *they have ſcarce any thing alike or in common with one another.* I had brought together thirteen circumſtances (the very number which the learned writer thinks ſufficient to eſtabliſh the identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris) in which they perfectly agree. I am perſuaded he does not ſuſpect me of

of falſifying their hiſtory. He muſt mean therefore, that *thirteen* in my compariſon, prove nothing, which, in his, prove every thing.

He goes on,—*in a diſputation of ſeventy pages and upwards the author of the Divine Legation neither denies nor confutes, but only laughs at what we have ſaid of Seſoſtris.* What is it the learned writer *hath ſaid of Seſoſtris?* Is it not this? That between his hiſtory and that of Oſiris there are many ſtrokes of reſemblance: From whence he infers (with Sir Iſaac) that theſe two Heroes were one and the ſame. Now if he means, I have neither *denied* nor *confuted* this reſemblance, he ſays true. I had no ſuch deſign. It is too well marked by Antiquity to be denied. Neither, let me add, did I *laugh* at it. What I *laughed at* (if my bringing a ſimilar caſe is to be ſo called) was his inference from this reſemblance, that therefore Oſiris and Seſoſtris were one and the ſame. But then too I did more than *laugh:* I both *denied* and *confuted* it. Firſt I *denied* it, by ſhewing that this reſemblance might really be, though Oſiris and Seſoſtris were two different men, as appeared by an equal reſemblance in the actions of two different men, the Britiſh Arthur and William the Norman. But as the general hiſtory of ancient Egypt would not ſuffer us to believe all that the Greek writers have ſaid of this reſemblance, I then explained the cauſes which occaſioned their miſtaken accounts of the two perſons, from whence ſo perfect a reſemblance had ariſen. Secondly, I *confuted* what the learned perſon had ſaid of Seſoſtris, by ſhewing, from the concurrent teſtimony of Antiquity, and from ſeveral internal arguments deducible from that teſtimony, that Oſiris and Seſoſtris

ſoſtris were in fact two different perſons, living in two very diſtant ages.

The learned writer proceeds, — *It is true indeed that ſome other of Newton's aſſertions he does oppoſe; ſuch as thoſe concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and inſtruments; and in this part of the argument he gets the better.* But if I have the better here, it is paſt diſpute I overthrow the whole hypotheſis of the *identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris.* For, as to the reſemblance, which Antiquity hath given them, that, conſidered ſingly when the pretended late invention of arts hath been proved a miſtake, will indeed deſerve only to be *laughed at.* But were it, as Sir Iſaac Newton endeavoured to prove, that the invention of arts was no earlier than the time of Seſoſtris or Seſac, there is then indeed an end of the ancient Oſiris of Egypt; and the Hero ſo much boaſted of by that people, can be no other than the Seſoſtris of this author. For the very foundation of the exiſtence of the ancient Oſiris was his civilizing Egypt, and teaching them the Arts of life: But if this were done by Seſoſtris, or in his reign, then is HE the true Oſiris of Egypt. As, on the contrary, were the invention of arts as early as SCRIPTURE-HISTORY repreſents it, then is Egypt to be believed, when ſhe tells us that Oſiris, their Inventor of arts, was many ages earlier than Seſoſtris their Conqueror: And conſequently, all Sir Iſaac Newton's *identity* ſeparates and falls to pieces. In a word, take it which way you will, If Oſiris were the ſame as Seſoſtris, then muſt the invention of arts (for all Antiquity have concurred in giving that invention to Oſiris) be as late as the age of Seſoſtris, the Seſac of Newton: but this, SCRIPTURE-HISTORY will not ſuffer us to believe. If, on the other hand, Oſiris and Seſoſtris

Egyptians make to be a different man, of a later age, and famous for the Conqueſt of the habitable world." This was the propoſition I undertook to confute. Wherein I endeavoured to ſhew, "that there was a real Oſiris, ſuch as the Egyptians repreſented him, much earlier than their real Seſoſtris." And now (to uſe this writer's words) *the cauſe being brought before the public, let the learned determine of it.* As to the other point, that Seſoſtris went by the name of the earlier Hero, this I not only allow, but contend for, as it lays open to us one of the principal cauſes of that confuſion in their ſtories, which hath produced a ſimilitude of actions, whereon Sir Iſaac Newton layeth the foundation of their IDENTITY.

But if Sir Iſaac Newton and his learned Advocate have paid too little deference to Antiquity, there are, who, in a contrary extreme, would pay a great deal too much. The learned Dr. Pococke in his book of travels, introduceth his diſcourſe *On the mythology of the ancient Egyptians* in this extraordinary manner: "As the mythology, or "fabulous religion of the ancient Egyptians, may "be looked on, in a great meaſure, as the founda-"tion of the heathen Religion in moſt other parts, "ſo it may not be improper to give ſome account "of the origin of it, as it is delivered by the "moſt ancient authors, which may give ſome "light both to the deſcription of Egypt, and alſo "to the hiſtory of that country. We may ſup-"poſe, that the Ancients were the beſt judges of "the nature of their Religion; and conſequently, "that all interpretations of their Mythology, by "MEN OF FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, that have no "ſort of foundation in their writings, are forced, "and ſuch as might never be intended by them.

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